
ANCIENT GREECE.
SCYTHIANS
Ister R.
GETES
PART OF THE EUXINE SEA
Haemus Mounts
TRIBALLIANS
ILLYRIANS
AGRIANIANS
DROANS
TILATÆANS
TRERIANS
PÆONIA
GRESTONIA
MACEDONIA
THRACE
Rhodope Mounts
KINGDOM of the ODRYSIANS
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Perinthus
PROPONTIS
PART OF PONTUS and PROVINCE of DASCYLIS BITHYNIA
Epidamnus or Dyrrachium
Apollonia
TAULANTIANS
ANTITANIANS
CHAONIANS
THESPROTIANS
MOLOSSIANS
THESSALY
PHTHIOTIS
Pagasæ
GULF OF THERME
GULF OF TORONE
CHALCIDICA
PIERIAN GULF
Thasus or Thalassia I.
Samothrace I.
Imbrus I.
THE ÆGÆAN SEA
Lemnus Isle
Tenedus I.
Preparethus I.
Scyros Isl.
Lesbus Isle
TROAS
ÆOLIA
Corcyra Isle
GULF OF AMBRACIA
ÆTOLIA
LOCRIANS
PHOCIS
BŒOTIA
EUBŒA
ATTICA
Athens
Thebes
Chalcis
Eretria
Chios Isle
Andrus Isl.
IONIA
Smyrna
Ephesus
Miletus
CARIA
Halicarnassus
Sardes
Philadelphia
Ithaca
Isle of Cephalenia
Zacynthus Isle
ACHAIA
Corinth
Salamis I.
GULF OF SARONE
Ægina I.
ELIS
ARCADIA
PELOPONNESUS
Argos
GULF OF ARGOS
MESSENIA
LACONIA
Lacedæmon or Sparta
GULF OF LACONIA
GULF OF MESSENIA
Tænarus pr.
Malea pro.
Cythera Isle
Cia I.
Tenos I.
Cythnus I.
Delos I.
Mycônus I.
Seriphus I.
Parus I.
Naxus Isl.
Melos I.
Amorgus I.
Astypalea I.
Anaphe I.
Samos I.
Cos I.
CYCLADES
SPORADES
Rhodes Isle
Syme Isle
Patara
Phaselis
Aspendus
THE IONIAN SEA
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ISLE OF CRETE
Casus I.
Carpathus Isle

R.W. Seale fec.

XENOPHON'S

HISTORY

OF THE

AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BY THE

TRANSLATOR OF THUCYDIDES.

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΗΣ ΑΠΑΣΑ ΥΜΙΝ ΗΡΤΗΤΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ.

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR BENJAMIN WHITE, AT HORACE'S HEAD, IN FLEET-STREET.

MDCCLXX.

PREFACE.

THE Tranſlator of this valuable piece of Xenophon looks upon himſelf as now diſcharging a debt to the public. The favorable reception of his tranſlation of Thucydides was urged, and, with gratitude be it ſpoken, was urged by the late Earl Granville, as an obligation upon him to copy in the Engliſh language what Xenophon had written originallv in Greek in regard to the Peloponneſian war; namely, the continuation of it till the naval power of the Athenians was demoliſhed and the city of Athens ſurrendered to her foes. This is properly the end of the Peloponneſian war. But, as the State of Lacedæmon, elated with the conſequential enlargement of her power, exerted it in too haughty and imperious a manner, the reſentment of other ſtates was raiſed, and a war enſued, in which Sparta was well nigh ruined, and the ſovereignty of Greece transferred

to Thebes. The battle of Mantinea, in which the Thebans by losing Epaminondas lost their all, closed this eager struggle for supremacy in Greece, and left its several states a commodious prey to Philip of Macedon, who soon after began to act. In this piece of Xenophon, the history of Greece is continued from the time Thucydides breaks off, down to that famous battle, including the space of near fifty years.

Never had historian who left his work imperfect, so illustrious a continuator as Thucydides found in Xenophon. They were both of them men of excellent sense. They both lived in the times, and had competent knowledge of the facts they describe. They were both Athenians, had been generals, and were both in exile when they wrote their histories. But a man more accomplished in all respects than Xenophon will not easily be found. He was the greatest hero, and at the same time the genteelest writer of his age. Instructed and formed by Socrates, he exemplified his useful philosophy in the whole conduct of his life. And it will be hard to decide, which are most excellent in their kind, his historical or his philosophical writings. The stile of both hath that sweetness, that ease, that perspicuity, and that simplicity, which remain envied and unequalled, and must give all his translators no small anxiety about their own success. He especially has

abundant

abundant reaſon to be alarmed, who, after being ſo long employed in copying a different ſtile in Thucydides, has attempted the manner of Xenophon. He is ſenſible of the daringneſs of ſuch an attempt, has no ſmall terrors about its ſucceſs, and puts his whole confidence in the judgement of the late Earl Granville, who had peruſed ſome parts of it in manuſcript, and honoured the Tranſlator with his commands to compleat and publiſh the work.

As the Greek text is ſometimes faulty, the tranſlator hath made no ſcruple to adopt the marginal reading of the beſt editions, if it fixed or cleared the ſenſe to an Engliſh reader. He hath alſo ventured to tranſlate ſome paſſages according to the conjectural but ſagacious emendations of the late reverend Dr. Taylor, reſidentiary of St. Paul's.

The tranſlator, in the *Life* of *Thucydides*, p. 15, hath ſaid, "There is a chaſm between the time the "hiſtory of Thucydides breaketh off, and the Grecian "hiſtory of Xenophon beginneth."— He ſaid it upon the authority of Archbiſhop Uſher, but hath ſeen abundant reaſon ſince to be diffident of the fact. The *Annales Xenophontei* of the learned Dodwell ſeem to prove from variety of arguments a cloſe connexion between them. The chronology is therefore ſet in the margins according to his elaborate and clear adjuſtment of the time.

It ſhould not and needs not be diſſembled that this piece hath already been tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr Newman. It is printed in *octavo*, and dated in the year 1685.

ERRATA.

P. 69. l. 18. *for* drank *read* drunk. P. 76. l. 6. *for* partook *read* partaken. P. 77. bottom line, *for* Ænone *read* Æxone. P. 86 l. 10. *blot out* and. P. 93. l. 4. *for* I *read* me. L. 15. *for* who *read* whom. P. 94. l. 6. *for* was *read* were. P. 105. l. 3. *for* was *read* were. P. 113. l. 7. *for* began *read* begun. P. 147. l. 12. *before* try *inſert* to. P. 149. l. 19. *for* trod *read* trodden. P. 163. l. 20. *for* ſhook *read* ſhaken. L. 22. *for* broke *read* broken. P. 172. l. 26. *for* Scuthes *read* Seuthes. P. 205. l. 10. *for* Archidemus *read* Archidamus. P. 210. l. 7. *for* drank *read* drunk. P. 223. l. 6. *for* Oneus *read* Oreus. P. 268. l. 13. *after* diſcovering, *inſert* that. P. 306. l. 22. *for* Peſimelus *read* Paſimelus.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

The AFFAIRS OF GREECE

By XENOPHON.

BOOK THE FIRST.

CONTENTS.

The War carried on vigorouſly at ſea between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians.—The battle of Cyzicus, in which the latter are defeated, and Mindarus their Admiral is ſlain.—Hermocrates turned out of his command by the Syracuſans, and baniſhed.—Alcibiades recalled by the Athenians, but ſoon after diſgraced again and ruined.—Lyſander ſent by the Lacedæmonians to command at ſea; and next year ſucceeded by Callicratidas.—The ſea-fight of Arginuſæ; and the proſecution at Athens againſt their victorious Commanders.

THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BOOK I.

NOT many days after this, Thymochares arrived from Athens with a few ſhips; and immediately the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had another engagement at ſea: but the Lacedæmonians, commanded by Hegeſandridas, got the victory. Year of the Peloponneſian War 21. latt. end. Before Chriſt, 411.

Continuation of the war in the Helleſpont.

Soon after, in the beginning of winter, Dorieus the ſon of Diagoras ſtands into the Helleſpont, at day-light, with fourteen ſhips from Rhodes. The centinel of the Athenians, having a ſight of him, made proper ſignals to the commanders. They put out againſt him with twenty ſhips; and Dorieus, flying before them, ran his ſhips on ſhore, as he was clearing it, on the cape of Rharteum. But, the enemy coming up cloſe to them, they defended themſelves both from their ſhips and the ſhore, till

Mindarus *beaten at ſea.*

at length the Athenians ſtood away to their naval ſtation at Madytus, after a fruitleſs attack. Mindarus, who ſaw this attack, as he was then at Ilium ſacrificing to Minerva, haſtened down to the ſea to help his friends; and, after laying his veſſels afloat, he ſailed up[1] to fetch off the ſhips under Dorieus. Upon this the Athenians, putting out again, engaged him on the coaſt near Abydus, and fought from morning till night. One while they had the better of it, another while they had the worſe, till Alcibiades joins them with eighteen ſail. Then began the flight of the Peloponneſians to Abydus. But Pharnabazus marched down to their relief; and, advancing on horſeback into the ſea as far as poſſibly he could, he exerted himſelf in their defence, and encouraged his troops both horſe and foot to do their beſt. The Peloponneſians, cloſing their ſhips firm together with their heads towards the enemy, continued the fight on the very beach. At length the Athenians, carrying off with them thirty empty ſhips of the enemy and all their own that were diſabled, ſailed away to Seſtus. From thence, all their ſhips excepting forty went out of the Helleſpont on different cruizes to fetch in contributions. And Thraſylus, one of the commanders, ſet ſail for Athens, to notify the late ſucceſs, and to beg a reinforcement of men and ſhips.

Alcibiades *made priſoner.*

After theſe tranſactions, Tiſſaphernes came to the Helleſpont, where he arreſted Alcibiades, who came in a ſingle ſhip to viſit him, and to offer him the preſents of hoſpitality and friendſhip. He then ſent him priſoner to Sardis; alledging expreſs orders from the King to make war upon the Athenians. Yet, thirty days after, Alcibiades and Mantitheus too who had been taken priſoner in Caria, having provided themſelves with horſes, eſcaped by night from Sardis to Clazomenæ. In the mean time, the Athenians at Seſtus, having received intelligence that Mindarus was coming

His eſcape.

Year of the Peloponneſian war, 22. Before Chriſt, 410.

[1] The Greek Text is ἀπεπλει, but the word required by the ſenſe is ἐπεπλει. Dr. Taylor.

againſt

againſt them with ſixty ſhips, fled away by night to Cardia. And here Alcibiades joined them with five ſhips and a row-boat from Clazomenæ. But receiving advice that the fleet of the Peloponneſians was ſailed from Abydus to Cyzicus, he went himſelf to Seſtus by land, and ordered the ſhips round to the ſame place. When the ſhips were arrived at Seſtus, and he was fully bent on going out to ſea and engaging, Theramenes joins him with twenty ſhips from Macedonia, and Thraſybulus at the ſame time with twenty more from Thaſus, having both of them collected contributions. Alcibiades, leaving orders with them to follow, after they had taken out the great maſts of their veſſels, ſailed himſelf to Parium. And when the whole fleet was aſſembled at Parium to the number of eighty-ſix ſhips, the night following they went to ſea, and next day about the hour of repaſt they reach Proconneſus. Here they were informed that "Mindarus is at Cyzicus, and Pharnabazus too with the "land-force." This day therefore they continued at Proconneſus. But the day following Alcibiades called an aſſembly, and expatiated on the neceſſity they were under of engaging the enemy at ſea, and engaging them too at land, and alſo of attacking their towns; —— "For we," ſays he, "are in want of money, whilſt "our enemies are plentifully ſupplied by the King." But the day before, when they came to this ſtation, he had drawn round about his own veſſel the whole force, both the great and the ſmaller ſhips, that no one might be able to inform the enemy exactly of their number; and made public proclamation, that "whoever ſhould be caught attempting to croſs over the ſea "ſhould be puniſhed with death." And now, after holding the aſſembly, and making all needful preparations for an engagement, he ſet ſail for Cyzicus in a heavy rain. And when he was near it, the weather clearing up and the ſun breaking out, he had a view of the ſhips of Mindarus, to the amount of ſixty, exerciſing themſelves

themſelves at a diſtance from the harbour; and fairly intercepted by him. On the other hand, the Peloponneſians, ſeeing the ſhips of Alcibiades to be much more numerous than uſual and cloſe in with the harbour, fled away to the ſhore; and there, having ranged into regular order, they received the enemy's attack. But Alcibiades, after ſtretching to a diſtance with twenty of the ſhips, landed with his men. Mindarus ſeeing this, landed alſo, and engaging was killed on ſhore; but all his men were at once in flight. The Athenians returned to Proconneſus, carrying away with them all the ſhips of the enemy except three of the Syracuſans, for theſe were burnt by the Syracuſans themſelves. Next day the Athenians returned from thence to Cyzicus. And the inhabitants of Cyzicus, as the Peloponneſians and Pharnabazus had abandoned the place, received the Athenians. But Alcibiades, after continuing with them twenty days, and exacting a large ſum of money from the Cyzicenes, though doing no other harm in any ſhape to the city, ſailed back to Proconneſus. From thence he ſailed to Perinthus and Selymbria; and the Perinthians received his forces into their city; whereas the Selymbrians received them not, but gave him a ſum of money. Going from thence to Chryſopolis of Chalcedonia, they fortified the place, and appointed it to be the ſtation for collecting *tenths:* and here a *tenth* was levied on all veſſels from Pontus. Leaving therefore thirty ſhips for the guard of Chryſopolis, and two of the commanders, Theramenes and Eubulus, to take care of its preſervation, to oblige the ſhips to pay the duty, and to lay hold of every opportunity to annoy the enemy, the reſt of the commanders departed to the Helleſpont.

Battle of Cyzicus.

A Lacedæmonian *letter.*

The letter ſent to Lacedæmon from Hippocrates lieutenant to Mindarus was intercepted and carried to Athens. The contents were theſe —— "Succeſs is at an end. Mindarus is killed. The "men are ſtarving. We know not what to do."

But

But Pharnabazus was animating all the Peloponneſians and Syracuſans too; exhorting them, "not to deſpond, ſo long as "themſelves were ſafe, for the loſs of a parcel of timber, ſince "enough might again be had in the dominions of his maſter;" and then he gave to every man a ſuit of apparel and two months pay. He alſo diſtributed proper arms to the mariners, and ſtationed them as guards of his own maritime provinces. He then ſummoned the generals of the different ſtates and the captains of ſhips to aſſemble, whom he ordered to rebuild at Antandros as many veſſels as they had ſeverally loſt, furniſhing them with money, and directing them to fetch the neceſſary timber from Mount Ida. Yet, amidſt the hurry of rebuilding the fleet, the Syracuſans aſſiſted the Antandrians in finiſhing a part of their walls, and of all the people now within that garriſon, were the moſt obliging to them. Upon this account the Syracuſans are honoured with the ſolemn acknowledgment of being benefactors to Antandros, and with the freedom of the city. But Pharnabazus, after putting affairs in this new train, departed in all haſte to the relief of Chalcedon.

Hermocrates.

Juſt at this time it was notified to the Generals of the Syracuſans, that "they are ſentenced to exile by the *people* of Syracuſe." Calling therefore all their men together, Hermocrates ſpeaking in the name of the reſt, they deplored their "wretched fortune "in being thus iniquitouſly doomed to exile in their abſence[2], "quite contrary to the laws." They adviſed the men "to adhere "to the ſame ſpirited behaviour they had hitherto ſhewn, and "with fidelity and bravery to execute all the orders of their "country." And then they ordered them "to go and elect a "ſet of Generals, till the perſons appointed to take the command "ſhould arrive from Syracuſe." The whole aſſembly called

[2] For *απαυλες* in the original I read *απουλες*, by the advice of Dr. Taylor.

aloud

aloud upon them to continue in the command; and the captains of ſhips, the land-ſoldiers, and the pilots, were loudeſt in their ſhouts. They replied, that "Generals ought not to mutiny againſt "the orders of their country. But, in caſe any criminal accuſations "were laid to their charge, it was but juſtice to expect a true "account from them, who would be ſtill keeping in remembrance "—how many victories at ſea you have gained under our direction "without the concurrence of others; how many ſhips you have "taken; and how often with the reſt of the confederates you "have been ſaved from defeats; diſtinguiſhed above all by "having the poſt of honour both at land and ſea, whilſt we "prudently iſſued and you gallantly executed our orders." Not one amongſt them having any thing to object, and all perſiſting in the former demand, they continued with them till their ſucceſſors arrived from Syracuſe, Demarchus the ſon of Pidocus, and Myſcon the ſon of Menecrates, and Potamis the ſon of Gnoſias. Moſt of the captains of ſhips promiſed them with an oath, that on their return to Syracuſe they would endeavour their reſtoration; and then diſmiſſed them to go where themſelves thought proper; loading them all with abundant commendations; but ſuch as were intimately acquainted with Hermocrates, moſt highly regretted the loſs of ſo vigilant, ſo humane, and ſo affable a commander: for it had been his daily cuſtom to invite, both morning and evening, to his own tent, ſuch of the captains of ſhips and pilots and land-ſoldiers as he knew to be men of merit, and to communicate to them whatever he intended either to ſay or to do, begging them to favour him with their ſentiments of things, ſometimes without premeditation, and ſometimes with a more deliberate anſwer. By this means Hermocrates was heard with the higheſt deference in all councils of war; his expreſſion and his matter were ever judged the beſt. But having afterwards preferred at Lacedæmon an accuſation againſt Tiſſaphernes, which was ſupported by the evidence of Aſtyochus, and had a great air

of truth, he went to Pharnabazus, and before he could aſk it received a ſubſidy from him, which enabled him to provide himſelf both with men and ſhips for his return to Syracuſe. But now the ſucceſſors of the Syracuſan commanders were arrived at Miletus, and received the ſhips and the troops.

About the ſame time a ſedition broke out in Thaſus, which ended in the ejection of the party attached to the Lacedæmonians, and of Eteonicus the Lacedæmonian Commandant. Paſippidas the Lacedæmonian, who was accuſed, in concert with Tiſſaphernes, of being the author of ſuch miſcarriages, was declared an exile from Sparta; and Cratesippidas was diſpatched to take the command of the fleet, which the other had aſſembled from the confederates; and he received it at Chios.

Proceedings of Agis.

About this time alſo, whilſt Thraſylus was at Athens, Agis, making a grand forage from Decelea, marched up to the very walls of Athens. But Thraſylus, putting himſelf at the head of the Athenians and of all perſons then reſiding in the city, drew up in order of battle near the Lyceum, determined to fight in caſe the enemy approached. Agis perceiving this, immediately retired, with the loſs of a few men in the extremity of his rear, who were killed by the light-armed Athenians. For this piece of conduct the Athenians became more and more diſpoſed to grant to Thraſylus the reinforcements he came for; and decreed him in form a thouſand heavy-armed from the *public roll*, a hundred horſemen, and fifty ſhips. But Agis, ſeeing from Decelea that numerous veſſels laden with corn were running into the Piræus, declared it "to be of no avail for his army to block up the "Athenians ſo long by land, unleſs ſome ſtop could be put to "the importation of corn by ſea; and that it was moſt adviſable "to ſend Clearchus the ſon of Ramphias, who was public hoſt of "the Byzantines, to Chalcedon and Byzantium." This being approved, and fifteen ſhips, though tranſports rather than ſhips of war,

war, being manned out by the Megareans and the reſt of the confederates, Clearchus departed. Three indeed of theſe his ſhips are deſtroyed in the Helleſpont by nine ſhips of the Athenians, ſtationed there to awe the enemy's navigation: the reſt of them fled to Seſtus; and from thence got ſafe to Byzantium.

And now the year ended, in which the Carthaginians commanded by Hannibal, having invaded Sicily with an army of a hundred thouſand men, take in three months time two Grecian cities, Selinus and Himera.

Year of the Peloponnesian war, 23. Before Chriſt, 409.

The year after (when the ninety-third Olympiad was ſolemnized, in which Evagoras the Elean conquered in the chariot-race, and Eubotas the Cyrenean in the foot-race, Euarchippides preſiding in the college of Ephori at Sparta, and Euctemon being Archon at Athens) the Athenians fortified Thoricus. Now Thraſylus, taking the command of the ſhips decreed him, and having provided five thouſand ſeamen with proper arms to act as targeteers, in the beginning of ſummer ſailed out to Samos. Having ſtaid there three days, he ſtood over to Pygela, where he laid the adjacent country waſte, and made an aſſault on the city. But a body of troops, marching out of Miletus to aid the Pygeleans, put to flight the light-armed Athenians who were diſperſed about the country. Yet the targeteers and two companies of heavy-armed, coming up to the relief of the light-armed, put almoſt the whole body from Miletus to the ſword. They alſo took about two hundred ſhields, and erected a trophy. Next day they ſailed to Notium; and, after making all needful preparations, marched from thence to Colophon. The Colophonians readily came over to them. The night after they made an incurſion into Lydia as the harveſt was ripe, where they burnt many villages, and took a vaſt booty in money and ſlaves and other articles. But Stages the Perſian, who was now in this province, when the Athenians were ſtraggled from their camp to pick up private plunder, fell in amongſt them with a party of horſe.

Proceedings of Thraſylus.

horſe. He took but one Athenian priſoner, though he killed ſeven. After this, Thraſylus led off his army to the ſea-coaſt, as reſolved to ſail to Epheſus. But Tiſſaphernes, perceiving his intent, collected together a numerous army, and ſent his horſemen round the country to ſummon every body in to Epheſus to the aid of Diana. It was the ſeventeenth day after his incurſion into Lydia that Thraſylus arrived before Epheſus. He diſembarked his heavy-armed at Coreſſus; but his horſe and targeteers and land-ſoldiers, and all the reſt of his force, at the marſh on the other ſide of the city; and thus at break of day he approached with two different bodies. The whole force of Epheſus marched out in its defence; the confederates too, whom Tiſſaphernes had brought up; the Syracuſans alſo, as well from the former ſhips as from the five others, which happened to be juſt arrived, under the command of Eucles the ſon of Hippo and Heraclides the ſon of Ariſtogenes, and were accompanied by two ſhips from Selinus. All theſe advanced firſt againſt the heavy-armed from Coreſſus; and, after giving them an utter defeat, taking about a hundred of them priſoners, and purſuing them down to the ſea, they turned to meet the body from the marſh. Here alſo the Athenians were put to flight, and about three hundred of them were ſlain. The Epheſians erected a trophy on the marſh, and another at Coreſſus. But on many of the Syracuſans and Selinuntians, who had diſtinguiſhed their bravery on the late occaſions, they conferred the higheſt marks both of public and private gratitude: a liberty of reſiding amongſt them at pleaſure, with exemption from taxes, was granted to them all in general; and to the Selinuntians in particular, ſince their own city was deſtroyed, a compleat naturalization. The Athenians, after fetching off their dead under truce, ſailed away to Notium; and from thence, after interring their dead, they ſailed for Leſbos and the Helleſpont. But, as they were lying at anchor at Methymne of Leſbos, they had a view of five and twenty ſail of

Syracuſans on their courſe from Epheſus. They immediately gave chace, and took four of them with all their crews, and purſued the reſt into Epheſus. All the priſoners taken on this occaſion Thraſylus ſent away to Athens, except Alcibiades an Athenian, a couſin of and involved in the ſame ſentence of exile with Alcibiades, whom he ſtoned to death. From hence he made the beſt of his way to Seſtus to join the reſt of the fleet.

Of Alcibiades. From Seſtus the whole united force croſſed over to Lampſacus. And the winter now came on, in which the Syracuſan priſoners confined in the quarries of the Piræus, having digged themſelves a paſſage through the rock, made their eſcape by night to Decelea, and ſome of them to Megara. But at Lampſacus, where Alcibiades was bringing the whole force into regular order, the former ſoldiers refuſed to rank with thoſe who came with Thraſylus, becauſe themſelves had continued hitherto without a defeat, whereas the latter came to them defeated. Here however they all of them wintered, and fortified Lampſacus. They alſo made an expedition againſt Abydus; and Pharnabazus came to its aid with a numerous body of horſe: but, being defeated in battle, he fled. Alcibiades, accompanied with ſome horſe and a hundred and twenty heavy-armed belonging to Menander, went in purſuit of him till the darkneſs of the night inſured his ſafety. But this action reconciled the whole ſoldiery to one another, and thoſe that came with Thraſylus were heartily careſſed. In the progreſs of the winter they made ſome other incurſions on the continent of Aſia, and laid waſte the dominions of the King.

About the ſame time, the Lacedæmonians, by granting a truce, fetched off ſuch of their Helots as had deſerted from Malea to Coryphaſium.

About the ſame time alſo, when all parties were drawn up in order of battle againſt their enemies the Oeteans, the Achæans betrayed all thoſe who belonged to the new colony of Heraclea

in

in Trachinia, ſo that ſeven hundred of them, with Labotas the Lacedæmonian Commandant, were put to the ſword.

And thus the year ended, in which the Medes, who had revolted from Darius King of Perſia, returned to their obedience.

In the ſucceeding ſummer the temple of Minerva in Phocea was ſet on fire by lightening, and entirely conſumed. Year of the Peloponneſian war, 24. Before Chriſt, 408.

But when the winter was over (Pantacles preſiding amongſt the Ephori, and Antigenes being Archon, [3] five and twenty years of the war being now compleated) the Athenians with their whole collected force ſailed in the beginning of ſpring to Proconneſus: and, proceeding from thence againſt Chalcedon and Byzantium, they encamped themſelves near to Chalcedon. But the Chalcedonians, who had notice of the approach of the Athenians, had depoſited all their effects with their near neighbours the Bithynian-Thracians. Alcibiades, taking with him a few of the heavy-armed and the horſe, and having ordered his ſhips to coaſt it, marched up to the Bithynians, and demanded the effects belonging to the Chalcedonians; in caſe of a refuſal, he declared, he would make war upon them; upon which they delivered them up. And now returning to the camp, poſſeſſed of his booty and ſecure of no future diſturbance from the Bithynians, he employed the whole of his troops in throwing up a work of circumvallation round Chalcedon from ſea to ſea, and ſecured as much of the river as he poſſibly could by a wooden rampart. Upon this, Hippocrates the Lacedæmonian Commandant led his troops out of the city, as determined to engage. The Athenians formed immediately for battle. And Pharnabazus with his army and a numerous cavalry came up to the outſide of the works of circumvallation, to be ready with his aid. Hippocrates therefore and Thraſylus, each with their heavy-armed, had a long engagement, till Alcibiades marched in with ſome more heavy-armed

[3] Marginal reading, Paris Ed. 1625. Leunclav.

and

and the horſe. Now Hippocrates was ſlain, and his troops fled back into the city. And at the ſame time Pharnabazus, who was prevented from joining Hippocrates by the narrowneſs of the paſſage between the river and the wall of circumvallation, retreated to his camp at the temple of Hercules in the diſtrict of Chalcedon. After this, Alcibiades went off to Helleſpont and the Cherſoneſus to fetch in contributions; but the reſt of the Generals made an agreement with Pharnabazus in relation to Chalcedon, — that "Pharnabazus ſhould pay down twenty ta-
* 3s. 7d. "lents * to the Athenians, and ſhould convey an Athenian em-
"baſſy to the King." They ſwore to Pharnabazus and took an oath from him, that "the Chalcedonians ſhould punctually pay "their former tribute to the Athenians with the full arrears, and "the Athenians ſhould ſuſpend all hoſtilities againſt the Chal-"cedonians, till their embaſſadors were again returned from the "King." Alcibiades was not preſent when theſe conditions were ſworn, for he was then before Selymbria. But taking that place, he went afterwards againſt Byzantium, having under him the whole military force of the Cherſoneſus, and the ſoldiers from Thrace, and more than three hundred horſe. Pharnabazus, inſiſting that Alcibiades alſo ſhould ſwear to the articles, waited at Chalcedon till he returned from Byzantium. But, when returned, he declared he would not ſwear, unleſs Pharnabazus would ſwear again to him. In conſequence of this, he gave his oath at Chryſopolis to Metrobates and Arnapes, whom Pharnabazus ſent thither to receive it; and Pharnabazus ſwore again at Chalcedon to Euryptolemus and Diotimus; and, beſide the public oath, they mutually exchanged the ſolemn pledges of private regard and friendſhip. Pharnabazus therefore immediately departed, and ordered that the embaſſadors who were to go to the King ſhould meet him at Cyzicus. Thoſe ſent by the Athenians were Dorotheus, Philodices, Theogenes, Euryptolemus, Mantitheus; they were accompanied by Cleoſtratus and Pyrrholochus from

Argos.

Argos. An embaſſy alſo went from Lacedæmon, Paſippidas and his collegues, and were accompanied by Hermocrates, now an exile from Syracuſe, and his brother Proxenus. And Pharnabazus began conducting them to the King.

Siege of Byzantium.

The Athenians were buſy in the ſiege of Byzantium. They had raiſed a circumvallation round it, and carried their ſkirmiſhes and attacks quite up to the wall. Clearchus was the Lacedæmonian Commandant in Byzantium. He had with him ſome perſons of the *neighborhood* of Sparta, a few of the Spartans *newly enfranchiſed*, ſome Megareans commanded by Helixus General from Megara, and Bœotians commanded by their General Cæratadas. But the Athenians, when they were not able to prevail by force, perſuaded ſome of the Byzantines to betray the city. Clearchus the Commandant, never ſuſpecting that any of them could be guilty of ſuch treachery, had made the beſt diſpoſitions that occurred to his own judgment; and, leaving the care of the place to Cæratadas and Helixus, croſſed over the ſea to Pharnabazus. He went to receive from him the pay for his troops; and he deſigned to collect together all the ſhips, both ſuch as were left in the Helleſpont for guardſhips by Paſippidas, and ſuch as were ſtationed at Antandrus, and thoſe under the command of Hegeſandridas who [4] had been poſted by Mindarus on the coaſt of Thrace; to procure farther the building of more; and to draw them all into one grand fleet, in order to annoy the confederates of the Athenians, and oblige them to quit the ſiege of Byzantium. So ſoon as Clearchus was ſailed, the Byzantines in the plot to betray the city —— Theſe were Cydon, and Ariſto, and Anaxicrates, and Lycurgus, and Anaxilaus; the latter of whom, when tried for his life at Lacedæmon for betraying this place, pleaded ſucceſsfully in his own defence, that, "ſo far from betraying, he "had only preſerved it. He, who was a Byzantine and not a

[4] Επισαλης, the marginal reading, Ed. Par. 1625.

"Lace-

"Lacedæmonian, ſaw their children and their wives periſhing "with famine" (for Clearchus had diſtributed all the proviſions in the town to the ſoldiers of the Lacedæmonians). "For this "reaſon, therefore, he declared, he had given admiſſion to the "enemy, and not for the ſake of money, or to gratify any ran-"cour againſt the Lacedæmonians."——The Byzantines therefore in the plot, when they had made all neceſſary preparations, opened in the night the Thracian-gates as they are called, and let in the troops and Alcibiades. Helixus and Cæratadas, who were quite ignorant of the plot, haſtened with all their men to the market-place to make head againſt them. But, as the enemy were maſters of the avenues, and reſiſtance was unavailing, they ſurrendered themſelves, and were ſent priſoners to Athens. Yet, as they were landing in the Piræus, Cæratadas ſlipped into the crowd of people there; and lurking for a time, at length eſcaped ſafe to Decelea.

Year of the Peloponneſian war, 25. Before Chriſt, 407.

The account of what had been lately done at Byzantium reached Pharnabazus and the embaſſadors at Gordium in Phrygia, where they ſpent the winter. But, as they were continuing their journey to the King early in the ſpring, they were met by the Lacedæmonian embaſſadors, Bœotius and his collegues, and by other envoys who were on their return. By theſe they were aſſured, that the Lacedæmonians had been gratified by the King in all their demands, and that Cyrus was appointed Governor of all the maritime provinces, and was to co-operate with the Lacedæmonians in the war: he alſo carried with him a letter to all the people of thoſe provinces, ſealed with the royal ſignet, and in theſe words——"I ſend down Cyrus to be *Caranus* of all the "troops aſſembled at Caſtolus." The word *Caranus* ſignifies *commander in chief*. When the Athenian embaſſadors heard all this, and afterwards ſaw Cyrus himſelf, they were deſirous more than ever to go up to the King; if that was denied them, to have a ſafe conduct back. But Cyrus, who would fain have the people

people of Athens kept in ignorance of what had been done, adviſed Pharnabazus, either to deliver up theſe embaſſadors to him, or by no means to give them their diſmiſſion. Pharnabazus therefore for the preſent detained the embaſſadors; one while pretending, that he would conduct them forwards to the King; another while, that he would convey them back; managing ſo well that no one could blame him. But when three [5] years were thus elapſed, he begged leave from Cyrus to diſmiſs them; alledging the oath he had ſworn, to re-conduct them to the ſea, ſince he could not carry them to the King. Upon this they are ſent to Ariobarzanes with an order to him to carry them back. He conducted them to Chium in Myſia, and from thence they went by ſea to the other ſtation of the Athenians.

Alcibiades returns to Athens.

Alcibiades, who now had a great deſire with a military force to return to Athens, ſet ſail immediately for Samos. Taking twenty ſhips from that ſtation, he ſtood over into the Ceramic bay of Caria; and, after collecting there a hundred talents *, he returned to Samos. Thraſybulus with thirty ſhips was gone to Thrace, where he reduced the other cities that had revolted to the Lacedæmonians and Thaſus too, miſerably diſtreſſed by war, by ſeditions, and by famine: and Thraſylus with another part of the fleet was ſailed for Athens. Yet before his arrival the Athenians had choſen for Generals, Alcibiades though yet in exile, and Thraſybulus who was abſent, and, thirdly, Conon who was now at Athens. But Alcibiades, taking the money from Samos, ſailed with twenty ſhips to Paros. From thence he ſtood over to Gytheum, to diſcover in what progreſs the thirty veſſels were that he heard the Lacedæmonians were fitting out there, and what was the diſpoſition of the Athenians in regard to his returning home. And ſo ſoon as he perceived they were in the right

* 19,375 *l.*

[5] The learned Uſher in his Annals doubts, and with reaſon, whether it ſhould not be *months*.

diſpoſition, nay had even choſen him General, and his friends privately invited him to make his appearance, he ſailed into the Piræus the very day that the city was celebrating the Plynteria, when the image in Minerva's temple was covered with a veil; which ſome interpreted to be a very bad omen both to himſelf and the ſtate, becauſe on this day no Athenian whatever dares to intermeddle in any ſerious affair. But on his entering the harbour, the whole people both from the Piræus and the city came flocking down to his ſhips, all full of wonder, and full of deſire too to ſee Alcibiades. Some of them were maintaining, "he "was the moſt excellent citizen that Athens ever bred; the only "one who beyond all diſpute had been baniſhed unjuſtly; ſince "he had been merely circumvented by the cabals of men of "much leſs weight than himſelf, of ſnarling malicious ha-"ranguers, who had no other principle than that of plundering "the ſtate. He, on the contrary, had always been promoting "the public welfare, ſo far as his own and the efforts of true "patriots could promote it. And when the accuſation was pre-"ferred againſt him for irreligious behavior in regard to the "*myſteries*, he had declared his readineſs to ſubmit to an imme-"diate trial; whereas his enemies, who had over-ruled ſo equi-"table a demand, had during his abſence deprived him of his "country. In the mean time, his very neceſſities had reduced "him to a ſtate of ſervility; he had been forced to careſs even "the bittereſt of foes, and not a day paſt but his life was in "danger. He could henceforth perform no ſervices to ſuch of "his fellow-citizens as were moſt endeared to him, none to his "relations, none even to the ſtate, though he ſaw how ſadly it "was conducted, ſince he was cramped by the reſtrictions of his "exile. Such a man, they affirmed, could not be ſuſpected of "deſigning innovations in the ſtate or a revolution of govern-"ment. He could ever have obtained, from the favour of the "people,

" people, precedency over *thoſe of his own age*, and equality with " his *ſeniors*. Nay, his very enemies knew him, even when " they baniſhed him, to be the ſame true patriot he had always " been: and yet they, by forcing themſelves into power, had " deſtroyed the beſt citizens of Athens; and then, being left " alone in the adminiſtration of affairs, had been countenanced by " their fellow-citizens for no other reaſon, than becauſe they had " no better men to countenance." In the mean time others were averring, that " he was the ſole author of all the miſeries they " had lately experienced; and was ſtill the man, that would " precipitate his country into all the diſtreſſes, by which at pre- " ſent it was threatened."

Alcibiades was now at the ſhore. He did not however quit his ſhip, ſince he was afraid of his enemies; but, ſtanding upon the deck, he caſt his view around, to ſee whether his friends were at hand; and ſpying at length his couſin Euryptolemus the ſon of Peiſianax and his other relations accompanied by their friends, he then ſtep'd aſhore, and marcheth along with them up into the city, having parties placed near him ready to guard him againſt any violence. He then ſpoke in his own juſtification both in the ſenate and the aſſembly of the people, maintaining " he had never been guilty of impiety, but had himſelf been " ſadly injured." Much was ſaid to this purpoſe, and nobody preſumed to ſay a word againſt him, becauſe the people would never have ſuffered it. Being afterwards declared a *General-pleni-potentiary*, as if he was able to raiſe the ſtate to its former power, he firſt of all placed himſelf at the head of the whole military ſtrength of Athens, to guard by land the proceſſion of the *myſteries*, which during the war had gone by ſea. After this, he picked out a levy from the public *roll*, fifteen hundred heavy-armed, a hundred and fifty horſemen, and a hundred ſhips. And in the

third month after his return to Athens, he ſet ſail on an expedition againſt Andros, which had revolted from the Athenians. Ariſtocrates and Adimantus the ſon of Leucorophidas, who were choſen to command the land-forces, were ſent along with him.

Alcibiades landed his troops at Gaurium on the coaſt of Andros, who repulſed the Andrians that ſallied out to ſtop them, and ſhut them up within the city. Some few of them, though not many, and what Lacedæmonians were with them, they killed in the engagement. Alcibiades upon this erected a trophy; and, after continuing there a few days, ſailed away to Samos; and, having fixed his ſtation there, carried on the war againſt the enemy.

Lyſander. It was no long time before theſe laſt tranſactions, that the Lacedæmonians, as the time of the command of Crateſippidas was elapſed, had ſent away Lyſander to command the fleet. Lyſander, after arriving at Rhodes and taking upon him the command, ſtood away to Cos and Miletus. He proceeded from thence to Epheſus at the head of ſeventy ſail, where he continued till he was ſure that Cyrus was arrived at Sardis. But ſo ſoon as Cyrus was there, he went up to him along with the embaſſy from Lacedæmon. Here they made remonſtrances againſt the paſt behavior of Tiſſaphernes, and begged of Cyrus that with his utmoſt alacrity he would attend to the war. Cyrus anſwered, that "his father had expreſsly injoined him to do ſo; and for his "own part, it was a point he had entirely at heart: he had * 96,875*l.* "brought down with him five hundred talents * in ſpecie; and, "if that was inſufficient, he would ſpend his own private mo- "ney, which his father had given him; and, if that ſhould "fail, he would turn into coin the very throne on which he was "ſitting," which was all ſilver and gold. This they received with high applauſe; but begged him "to raiſe the pay of their † 7*d.* 3*q.* "ſeamen to an Attic drachma †;" inſiſting upon it, that "if

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" the pay was thus advanced, the ſeamen of the Athenians " would deſert their ſhips, and himſelf on the whole would be " a conſiderable ſaver." He replied, that " they talked in a " rational manner; but, for his own part, it was not in his power " to act otherwiſe than his father had injoined him: beſides, it " was expreſsly ſtipulated by treaty, that he was to pay only " thirty *minæ* * a month to each ſhip, the number employed to " be wholly at the option of the Lacedæmonians." Lyſander ſaid no more at preſent. But after ſupper, when Cyrus drank to him, and deſired to know " in what inſtance he could oblige " him moſt?" he replied, " if you give each ſeaman an *obole* a " day over and above their preſent pay." From this time their pay was advanced from three to four *oboles* a day [c]. Cyrus alſo paid off the arrears, and advanced a month's pay beforehand, which gave freſh alacrity and ſpirit to all the men. But the Athenians, when they had news of this, were ſadly dejected; however, they diſpatched embaſſadors to Cyrus under the ſafe conduct of Tiſſaphernes. He indeed refuſed to grant them audience, though Tiſſaphernes earneſtly intreated for them, repreſenting that " all he had hitherto done was in pure compliance " with the advice of Alcibiades, ſtudying only that no party of " the Grecians ſhould grow too ſtrong, but that all might be kept " in weakneſs through their own embroilments."

* 96*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

So ſoon as all the naval points were ſettled, Lyſander laid all the ſhips to the number of ninety on the ground at Epheſus, and minded no other buſineſs than cleaning and refitting them for ſervice. But Alcibiades had received intelligence, that Thraſybulus was come from the Helleſpont to fortify Phocea. He therefore croſſed over to him, leaving Antiochus his own pilot in the command of the fleet, with an order not to put to ſea againſt

[c] See Smith's Thucydides, Vol. II. p. 416.

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the ſhips of Lyſander. And yet Antiochus with his own ſhip and one more from Notium ventured even to enter the harbour of Epheſus, and to ſail under the very heads of the ſhips of Lyſander. Lyſander got a few of his veſſels immediately on float, and gave him chace. But, as the Athenians came out with a greater number of ſhips to the aid of Antiochus, he then collected all his own and bore down upon the enemy. And then the Athenians, getting into the water all their ſhips at Notium, went out to meet him, each ſhip as faſt as ſhe could clear. An engagement immediately enſued; the enemy fought in the regular line; the Athenians with their ſhips irregularly diſperſed, till at length they fled with the loſs of fifteen ſhips. The greateſt part of the men eſcaped, but ſome of them were taken priſoners. Lyſander, after carrying off the ſhips in tow, and erecting a trophy at Notium, ſailed back to Epheſus; and the Athenians to Samos.

Fight of Notium.

But after this Alcibiades, being returned to Samos, ſtood over with the whole fleet to the harbour of Epheſus, and formed into line of battle before the mouth of the harbour, to defy the enemy. Yet, when Lyſander would not come out againſt him, becauſe inferior in number by many ſhips, he ſtood back to Samos. And a little while after the Lacedæmonians take Delphinium and Eion.

Alcibiades a ſecond time exiled.

When the news of the late engagement at ſea was brought to Athens, the Athenians conceived high indignation againſt Alcibiades, aſcribing the loſs of their ſhips entirely to his negligent and wild behavior. They nominated ten others to be Generals, Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Heraſinides, Ariſtocrates, Archeſtratus, Protomachus, Thraſylus, Ariſtogenes. Alcibiades therefore, whoſe credit alſo was very low in the fleet, taking a ſingle veſſel, ſailed away to the Cherſoneſus, to a fortreſs of his own.

And now Conon, purſuant to the decrees of the ſtate, ſailed away from Andros with the twenty ſhips he had there, in order to take the command at Samos. But to replace Conon at Andros they ſent away Phanoſthenes with four ſhips from Athens. In his paſſage he fell in with two ſhips belonging to Thurium, and took both of them with their crews. The Athenians put all theſe priſoners into cloſe confinement, but were moved with compaſſion for Dorieus the commander of them, who in reality was a Rhodian, but had long ſince been exiled both from Athens and Rhodes, and for fear of the Athenians, who had ſentenced both himſelf and all his kindred to death, had got himſelf naturalized amongſt the Thurians: they therefore gave him his liberty without a ranſom.

When Conon was arrived at Samos, and had received the command of the fleet which was ſadly diſpirited, inſtead of the former number of ſhips which amounted to an hundred, he compleatly manned out ſeventy; and with theſe putting out to ſea, accompanied by the other commanders, he landed at many different places on the enemy's coaſt, and plundered the country. And the year ended, in which the Carthaginians, having invaded Sicily with a hundred and twenty ſhips and a land-force of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, reduced Agrigentum by famine, after being defeated in battle, and beſtowing ſeven months on the ſiege.

But in the following year, in which the moon was eclipſed in the evening, and the old temple of Minerva was burnt down at Athens (Pitys preſiding among the Ephori, and Callias being Archon at Athens), when the time of Lyſander's command and ſix [7] and twenty years of the war were elapſed, the Lacedæmonians ſent Callicratidas to command the fleet. When Lyſander delivered him the ſhips, he told Callicratidas, that "maſter of

Year of the Peloponneſian war, 26. Before Chriſt, 406.

Callicratidas.

[7] Marginal reading, Paris Ed. 1625. Leunclav.

"the

" the ſea and conqueror in a naval engagement, he reſigned them " to him." Upon this the latter adviſed him " to ſet ſail from " Epheſus, and keeping Samos on the left where the Athenian " fleet was lying, afterwards to deliver up the ſhips at Miletus, " and then he would own him to be maſter of the ſea." But Lyſander replying that " he ought not to interfere in another " perſon's command," Callicratidas, beſide the ſhips he received from Lyſander, manned out fifty more from Chios and Rhodes and other places in the confederacy. And having collected them all together to the number of an hundred and forty, he made the needful preparations for meeting the enemy. But finding that all his meaſures were ſeditiouſly oppoſed by the friends of Lyſander, who not only obeyed his orders with an open reluctance, but were clamouring alſo in all the cities againſt the moſt impolitic conduct of the Lacedæmonians, in perpetually changing their admirals, ſending out perſons not qualified for the office, or who had a very ſlender notion of naval affairs, and knew not how to manage the tempers of mankind; intimating farther the great danger they run of ſuffering ſeverely for giving the command to men unexperienced at ſea, and unknown to their friends in theſe parts —— for theſe reaſons, Callicratidas, having called together the Lacedæmonians now on board the fleet, expreſſed himſelf thus:

Speech of Callicratidas.

" I ſhould have been well contented to have ſtayed at Sparta; " nor, if Lyſander or any other perſon hath a mind to be " thought a better ſeaman than myſelf, have I any thing to ob- " ject. But, ſince I am commiſſioned by the ſtate to command " the fleet, I am bound in duty to execute their orders to the " utmoſt of my power. You therefore I adjure, as I would al- " ways behave with honour, and as the ſtate expects us to do " our duty (and you know your duty as well as I can tell it you), " to give me your opinions without any reſerve, whether it be

" more

" more expedient I ſhould continue here, or return immediately
" to Sparta to report [8] there the poſture of your affairs."

No perſon preſumed to give his opinion otherwiſe, than that " he ought to obey the ſtate, and execute their orders:" He therefore made a journey to Cyrus, and demanded pay for the ſeamen. Cyrus ordered him to wait two days [9]. But Calliera-tidas, chagrined at this delay, and vexed at frequently attending at his door, could not forbear deploring the lamentable lot of the Grecians in being obliged to cajole barbarians for money; affirming, that " if he ever returned to Sparta, he would exert his en-
" deavors to bring about a reconciliation between the Athenians
" and Lacedæmonians;" —— and then he departed to Miletus. From thence he ſent away ſome ſhips to Sparta for a ſupply of money; and, having called an aſſembly of the Mileſians, he addreſſed them thus:

" It is my indiſpenſable duty, Mileſians, to obey the orders of *Anſver.*
" my country. And you I expect to ſignalize yourſelves in a
" chearful proſecution of the war, as you live in the very midſt
" of the Barbarians, and have already ſuffered greatly by them.
" It is therefore incumbent upon you to ſet an example to the
" reſt of the confederates, in deviſing the moſt expeditious and
" moſt effectual means to hurt the enemy, till the perſons return
" from Sparta whom I have ſent thither to fetch us money. For
" Lyſander, at his departure, ſent back all the money in his
" hands to Cyrus, as if it was an uſeleſs article to us; and Cyrus,

[8] Ερεσθαι, marg. read. Paris Edit. 1625. Leunclav.

[9] The firſt time he went, he deſired Cyrus might be informed that " Admiral " Callicratidas was there, and deſired to " ſpeak with him." But the perſon waiting at the door anſwering, " Cyrus " is not at leiſure at preſent, for he is " drinking;" Callicratidas with the greateſt ſimplicity replied — " That ſig-
" niſies nothing at all; I can eaſily ſtand
" and wait here till he has finiſhed his
" draught." Upon which the Barbarians, who thought him quite a ruſtic, laughing heartily at him, he went away. *Plutarch's Life of* Lyſander.

" when I addreſſed myſelf to him, was for ever ſtudying excuſes
" to avoid a conference; and for my part, I could not prevail
" with myſelf to dance attendance at his doors. But I pledge
" my faith to you, that I will make it my ſtudy to be grateful
" to you for all the good ſervices you may do us, during this
" interval of our waiting for a ſupply from Sparta. And if it
" pleaſe the Gods, we will convince theſe Barbarians, that with-
" out fawning upon them, we are able to chaſtiſe our enemies."

When Callicratidas had ended, many perſons roſe up, and moſt remarkably thoſe who were accuſed of croſſing his meaſures. They were frightened, and therefore told him the means of raiſing a ſupply, and promiſed to contribute from their own private purſes. When he had thus gotten money, and had alſo levied five *drachmas* for each of his ſeamen at Chios, he ſailed againſt Methymne in Leſbos, which belonged to the enemy. But the Methymneans refuſing to come over, as the Athenians had a garriſon in the place, and the *Atticizing* party had all the power in their hands, he aſſaults and takes the city by ſtorm. The ſoldiers inſtantly made booty of all the money in the place, but Callicratidas gathered all the ſlaves together in the market-place. The confederates called out upon him to put even the citizens of Methymne up to ſale; but he anſwered, that " whilſt
" he was in command, he would exert his utmoſt endeavors
" that no Grecian whatever ſhould be made a ſlave." The day after he ſet all the freemen and the [10] Athenian garriſon at liberty, but the ſlaves were ſold at public ſale. He alſo ſent word to Conon, that " he would ſoon ſtop him from *whoring the ſea.*"

But early one morning perceiving Conon out at ſea, he immediately gave chace, to intercept his paſſage to Samos, that he might not eſcape thither. Conon however made the beſt of his way with ſhips that went at a great rate, becauſe he had picked

[10] Τας τε, margin. reading, Ed. Par. 1625. Leunclav.

the

the beſt rowers out of many crews to make up a few, and flies to Mitylene of Leſbos, accompanied by two of the ten Commanders, Leon and Heraſinides. Callicratidas purſuing with a hundred and ſeventy ſhips ſtood into the harbour along with him. And Conon, now ſhut up by the enemy who were got quite round him, was obliged to engage in the harbour, and loſt thirty ſhips, but their crews eſcaped to land, and the forty remaining ſhips of his fleet he drew aſhore under the walls of Mitylene. But Callicratidas, having moored his ſhips in the harbour, beſieged the place. He was entirely maſter of the road; and, having ſent a ſummons to the Methymneans to march up with their whole military force, he alſo fetched over the troops from Chios. Now too he received the money from Cyrus.

Conon *locked up in* Mitylene.

But Conon, now that Mitylene was inveſted both by land and ſea, and all importation of proviſions was effectually cut off, and great numbers of people were crowded into the city, and the Athenians ſent him no aid becauſe utterly ignorant of his ſituation, drew two of his beſt ſailors into the water before it was day, and compleatly manned them with the beſt rowers he could pick out from the fleet. He then made the ſoldiers go down below decks, and ſtowed the materials of defence. During the whole day they were at work on board: and in the evening, ſo ſoon as it was dark, he made them all go again on ſhore, that the enemy might gain no ſuſpicion of his deſign. But on the fifth day, having gotten a moderate ſtock of proviſion on board, exactly at noon, when the enemy who blocked him up were drowſy with heat, and ſome were taking their repoſe, they expeditiouſly ſtood out of the harbour. One of the ſhips made the beſt of its way to Helleſpont, but the other ſtretched out to ſea. The enemy, who blocked him up, made haſte to prevent their eſcape, each ſhip as faſt as they could clear, by cutting away the cables and anchors, alarming the crews, calling the men on board, who had been taking their repaſtes on ſhore, and were now flock-

ing down to the ſhips in a violent hurry. At length, having gotten on board their veſſels, they gave chace to the ſhip that ſtretched out to ſea, and at ſun-ſet came up with her. And after a ſtruggle making themſelves maſters of her, they took her in tow, and brought her back with all her crew on board to the naval ſtation. But the ſhip, that took her courſe towards the Helleſpont, compleated her eſcape, and carried the news of the ſiege to Athens.

Diomedon, who went to the aid of Conon thus beſieged, came to an anchor with twelve ſhips in the road of Mitylene. But Callicratidas, having ſuddenly born down upon him, ſeiſed ten of his ſhips at once, whilſt Diomedon fled away with his own and with another veſſel.

The Athenians, having received advice of all that had happened and of the ſiege, immediately decreed an aid to conſiſt of a hundred and ten ſhips, compelling all of an age to bear arms to go on board, as well ſlaves as freemen. And, having manned out the hundred and ten ſhips in the ſpace of thirty days, they put to ſea: nay, even many of thoſe perſons who belonged to the cavalry of the ſtate went on board this fleet. They firſt touched at Samos, and from thence took ten ſail of Samians. They collected alſo above thirty ſhips more from the reſt of the confederates, obliging men of all conditions to go on board. All veſſels too they met at ſea were embargoed, ſo that they amounted at laſt to more than an hundred and fifty ſail. Callicratidas, having received intelligence that this aid was come to Samos, left fifty ſhips under the command of Eteonicus to continue the ſiege; but, putting to ſea himſelf with an hundred and twenty, he took his evening-repaſte at Cape Malea in Leſbos over-againſt Mitylene. This very evening the Athenians were taking their repaſte at Arginuſæ, which is over-againſt the iſle of Leſbos. But in the night-time perceiving fires, and ſome perſons bringing him intel-

intelligence that "they are the Athenians," he ſet ſail at dead of night, with a deſign to fall ſuddenly amongſt them. The great quantity of rain that fell in the night, accompanied with thunder, prevented him from going acroſs. But at break of day, when the tempeſt was ceaſed, he ſailed over to Arginuſæ, where upon the left the Athenians were drawn out at ſea in line of battle in the following diſpoſition:

Battle of Arginuſæ.

Ariſtocrates with fifteen ſhips was poſted on the left; next him was Diomedon with fifteen more. Pericles was poſted behind Ariſtocrates, and Heraſinides behind Diomedon. Next to Diomedon were the Samians with ten ſhips drawn up in line a-head; a Samian by name Hippeus had the command of the Samians. Next them were ten ſhips of private captains, theſe alſo in the line a-head; and after them, three ſhips of the commanders in chief and the reſt of the confederates. Protomachus with fifteen ſhips commanded the right; next him was Thraſylus with fifteen more. Lyſias with an equal number of ſhips was poſted behind Protomachus; and Ariſtogenes behind Thraſylus. They had made this diſpoſition to prevent the enemy from breaking through their line; for their ſhips ſailed worſe than thoſe of the enemy.

But all the ſhips of the Lacedæmonians were drawn up in a ſingle line, with a view of being ready, as they were better ſailors, to break through and tack about again upon the enemy; and Callicratidas commanded in their right wing. Yet Hermon the Megarean, who was ſteerſman to Callicratidas, told him now, "it was moſt adviſable for him to ſheer off in time, ſince the "ſhips of the Athenians were far ſuperior in number to his own." Callicratidas made him this reply — "Sparta will not be worſe "inhabited when I am dead, but it would be infamous in me "to flee."

And now the fleets engaged in a fight of long continuance. At firſt, all the ſhips kept cloſe together, yet afterwards were ſepa-

Callicratidas rately engaged. But ſo ſoon as Callicratidas was tumbled into the ſea by the ſhock of his ſhip when ſhe ſtruck on an enemy, and was never ſeen any more, and Protomachus with thoſe poſted with him on the right had defeated the enemy's left; then began the flight of the Peloponneſians to Chios, though moſt of them fled to Phocea: and the Athenians ſailed back again to Arginuſæ. Five and twenty ſhips of the Athenians were loſt in this action with their crews, ſome few men excepted who ſwam athore. But on the Peloponneſian ſide nine ſhips belonging to Lacedæmon were loſt, though the whole number of them was but ten, and upwards of ſixty more belonging to the reſt of the confederates.

It was now judged expedient by the Athenian commanders to order Theramenes and Thraſybulus, who commanded ſhips, and ſome other officers, with ſeven and forty of the ſhips, to ſail round to the wrecks and fetch off the men; and to proceed with the reſt to Mitylene againſt the fleet commanded by Eteonicus. But in theſe deſigns they were prevented by a gale of wind which grew to be a violent tempeſt. Upon which they erected a trophy, and paſſed the night at Arginuſæ.

Conon *relieved.* In the mean time, a fly-boat had carried Eteonicus the news of the late battle at ſea. But he ſent the boat out again with an order to thoſe on board, to move ſilently off without ſaying a ſyllable to any perſon whatever, and ſoon after to return again to the naval ſtation crowned with garlands, and ſhouting aloud, that "Callicratidas had gained a victory at ſea," and that "the "whole Athenian fleet was deſtroyed." They punctually obſerved his inſtructions. And when they returned again, Eteonicus offered up a ſacrifice for the good tidings they brought. He then iſſued an order to the ſoldiers to take their evening-repaſte, and to the ſuttlers quietly to carry all their effects on board, and ſail away in the ſhips with all expedition to Chios, for the wind favoured the paſſage; whilſt he himſelf, after ſetting his camp on fire,

fire, drew off the land-army to Methymne. And now Conon, having gotten his ſhips afloat, as the enemy was gone and the wind was conſiderably abated, went out to ſea, and met the Athenians who were under ſail from Arginuſæ. He told them what Eteonicus had done, upon which the Athenians put into Mitylene. From thence they proceeded to Chios; but, being unable to do any thing there againſt the enemy, they ſtood away for Samos.

Illegal and unjuſt Proceedings at Athens.

But at Athens the people turned out all the commanders except Conon, to whom they aſſigned for his colleagues Adimantus and Philocles. However, of thoſe who commanded in the late engagement Protomachus and Ariſtogenes returned not to Athens, but ſix of them came home, namely Pericles and Diomedon and Lyſias and Ariſtocrates and Thraſylus and Heraſinides. Archedemus, who at this time was the greateſt demagogue in Athens and had the management of all affairs relating to Decelea, laying a fine [a] upon Heraſinides, preferred an accuſation againſt him in public court, importing, that "he had "embezzled ſome money from Helleſpont belonging to the "ſtate," and charged him farther with miſdemeanors during his command. It was adjudged by the Court that "Heraſinides be "committed to priſon." After this, the commanders made their report in full ſenate about the late engagement at ſea, and the violence of the ſtorm. But Timocrates having moved, that "the reſt of the commanders as well as Heraſinides ſhould be "impriſoned in order to be tried by the people of Athens," the ſenate ordered their commitment. In the next place a general aſſembly of the people was holden, in which ſeveral perſons preferred accuſations againſt the commanders, though Theramenes diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt on this occaſion. He affirmed "they "ought to be brought to a trial for not fetching off the men

[a] I read επιβολην for επιβουλην, on the authority of Dr. Taylor.

"from

" from the wrecks." He produced their own letter ſent by them to the *ſenate* and *people* as full evidence that " no neceſſary avo-" cation had prevented their doing it, ſince they alledged no " other excuſe but the ſtorm." Each of the commanders was then permitted to make a ſhort apology for himſelf; the courſe of law did not yet allow them to make a formal defence. They made a bare recital of facts, that " they had ſtood out to ſea in " queſt of the enemy; had given an order to proper officers " amongſt the captains of the ſhips, nay to ſuch as had formerly " commanded fleets, to Theramenes and Thraſybulus and ſome " others of equal rank, to fetch off the men from the wrecks. " If any therefore were accountable for non-performance of this " point, it certainly ought to be charged upon them alone who " received the order to perform it. And yet *(they continued)* the " accuſation preferred againſt ourſelves ſhall not make us deviate " from truth, by aſſigning any other reaſon for their not having " done it than the violence of the ſtorm." They then called upon the pilots and many other perſons who were on board the ſhips to give their evidence in confirmation of the truth. By ſuch pleas they mollified the people, many of whom immediately roſe up, and offered to be ſecurity for their future appearance. It was reſolved however, " to adjourn the affair to another aſſembly" (for it was now ſo late in the evening that they could not diſtinguiſh the majority of hands) " the *ſenate* in the mean time to " draw up a reſolution to be reported to the *people* in what man-" ner they ſhould be tried."

The Apaturian feſtival now came on, in which it is the cuſtom for fathers of families and near relations to entertain one another. Theramenes therefore and his party employed the feſtival in dreſſing up a number of perſons in mourning garments, having firſt ſhaven them clean to the ſkin, who were to preſent themſelves to the aſſembly of the people for the relations of ſuch as

had

had perifhed on the wrecks. They alfo prevailed upon Callixenus to accufe the commanders in form before the fenate. The general aflembly was afterwards holden, when the *fenate* reported their refolution by the mouth of Callixenus, and in the very words in which he had moved to have it drawn up:

" Whereas in the laft aflembly of the people, not only the " accufers of the commanders, but alfo the commanders them- " felves were heard in their own juftification, let the people of " Athens proceed to give their votes by tribes. Let two urns " be placed for every tribe. In each tribe let the herald pro- " claim — " As many as are of opinion that the commanders " have mifbehaved in not fetching off from the wrecks the men " who had earned them a victory, let fuch caft their ballots " into *this* urn; as many as are of the contrary opinion, into " *that*." And if a majority declare them guilty, let them be " fentenced to death, let them be delivered over to the public " executioners, let their eftates be confifcated, referving a tenth " part for the Goddefs."

And now a perfon ftood forth in the aflembly who affirmed, that " he had fwam afhore upon a barrel of flour; that " the poor wretches who were loft had folemnly conjured him, " if he efcaped with life, to tell the people of Athens, that their " commanders would not fave the lives of thofe very men who " had fought with the utmoft bravery for their country." A clamour was already begun againft Callixenus, for propofing a method of procedure that was manifeftly againft due courfe of law. Euryptolemus the fon of Peifionax, and fome other leading men amongft the people, declared themfelves of this opinion. But the multitude roared aloud, that " Athens was undone, if " the people were reftrained from proceeding at their own dif- " cretion." Upon this a motion was made by Lycifcus, that " whoever interrupted the free votes of the aflembly of the people, " fhould be involved in the fame fentence that was given againft

" the commanders." This motion was approved by a loud tumultuous ſhout from the multitude, and the others are forced to withdraw their oppoſition: but now again, the *preſidents* refuſing to put a queſtion which was contrary to law, Callixenus ſtood up again, and accuſed them for their refuſal. The people demanded aloud, that " ſuch of them as refuſed ſhould be called " to account." This terrified the *preſidents*, who immediately declared they were ready to comply, all but Socrates the ſon of Sophroniſcus, who ſtill inſiſted that " he would not do an act " which was not according to law." But after this Euryptolemus roſe up, and ſpoke thus in favour of the commanders:

Speech of Euryptolemus.

" I riſe up, my fellow-citizens of Athens, partly with a de-
" ſign to blame my near and dear Relation Pericles and my
" Friend Diomedon; and partly to offer ſome plea in their be-
" half; and farther, to give you ſuch advice, as in my opinion
" will beſt promote the welfare of the Athenian ſtate. I there-
" fore blame my Relation and my Friend for perſuading their
" collegues in the command to inſert in the letter they were
" deſirous to ſend to the ſenate and you, that they had iſſued
" an order to Theramenes and Thraſybulus to repair with forty-
" ſeven ſhips to the wrecks and fetch off the men, which order
" was never put in execution. In conſequence of this, they are
" now involved in the guilt of a crime which others ſeparately
" incurred; and, in requital for all their humanity, are now,
" by the treachery of thoſe very perſons and a party here,
" brought into imminent danger of their lives. No danger nei-
" ther, if you will but comply with my advice, and obey the
" dictates of piety and juſtice. And by this means you will
" beſt be enabled to diſcover all the truth, and preſerve your-
" ſelves from a ſubſequent fit of remorſe, when in proceſs of
" time convinced that you have enormouſly offended both againſt
" heaven and your own ſelves.

" Let

" Let me therefore recommend ſuch a conduct to you, as will " guard you from all deception either by myſelf or by any other " perſon, as will clearly diſcover the guilty, how far they all " and in what degree each perſon amongſt them is guilty, and " will enable you to aſſign the proper meaſure of puniſhment to " each. Indulge them therefore with only one day, if more " time muſt not be granted, to make their defence; and pay an " higher deference to your own than to the judgment of other " men. And all of you know, my fellow-citizens of Athens, " that the law of Canonus is ſtill in force, which enacts that " —" if any perſon hath aggrieved the people of Athens, he ſhall " be impriſoned and brought to a trial before the *people*; and, in " caſe he be convicted, ſhall be put to death and thrown into the " pit, his goods and chattels to be forfeited to the ſtate, reſerving " the tenth part for the Goddeſs."—— By this law I exhort you " to try the commanders; and by Heaven to begin, if you think " proper, with Pericles my own Relation. It would be baſeneſs " indeed in myſelf to place an higher value upon him than upon " my country.

" But if you rather chuſe it, try them by the other law againſt " perſons accuſed of ſacrilege and treaſon, which enacts that " —" if any man betrays the city or robs the temples, he ſhall be " tried in the courts of judicature; and, if adjudged to die, ſhall " not be buried in Attica, his goods and chattels to be forfeited " to the ſtate."

" Make uſe of either of theſe laws, my fellow-citizens. Let " a ſeparate day be aſſigned for the trial of each; that day to be " divided into [12] three parts; in the firſt of which you ought to " aſſemble and give your ballots whether or no they ought to be " put upon their trial; in the ſecond, the accuſation ſhould be

[12] Διηρημενων της ημερας τριων μερων. Leunclavius, Paris Ed. marginal reading, p. 450. and the Appendix.

" opened againſt them; in the third, they ſhould be heard in
" their own defence. And if this method be obſerved, the guilty
" will receive the ſevereſt puniſhment, and the innocent be ſaved
" by you, Athenians, and not be put to death by an iniquitous
" condemnation. You then, without offending heaven, without
" violating your oaths, will judge them according to law, and
" will not make war in combination with the Lacedæmonians
" by putting to death, without a trial, in expreſs violation of the
" laws, the very men who have taken ſeventy of their ſhips,
" and gained a notable victory over them.

" But of what are you afraid, that you are in ſuch vehement
" haſte to paſs a ſentence? Are you afraid of loſing your right to
" put to death or to ſave whom you pleaſe, in caſe you try men
" in a regular conformity with and not in open violation of the
" law? Yes; ſuch was the motive of Callixenus, when he per-
" ſuaded the ſenate to ſubject them all to one ſummary vote from
" the people. Yet this way perhaps you may put an innocent
" man to death: and then, in a ſubſequent fit of remorſe, you
" may bitterly reflect what a dreadful and unjuſtifiable act you
" have committed: and more bitterly ſtill, if you iniquitouſly
" put to death a number of them. Horrible indeed would the
" procedure be, if you, the very perſons that indulged Ariſtar-
" chus, who formerly over-turned the *popular* government, and
" afterwards betrayed Oenoë to our enemies the Thebans, with
" a day of his own appointment to make his defence, and ob-
" ſerved every form of law in regard to him, ſhould deny every
" indulgence and every right to commanders who in all reſpects
" have anſwered your expectations, and have gained a victory
" over your enemies! Forbid it Heaven, that Athenians ſhould
" behave in ſuch a manner. Keep your attention fixed on the
" laws, on laws which are entirely your own, on laws by
" whoſe immediate influence you have been ſo highly exalted;

" and, let it never enter your hearts to deviate from them. Bring " back your thoughts to the ſole conſideration of the matters of " fact, in which your commanders ſeem to have incurred your " diſpleaſure.

" For, after they had obtained the victory at ſea and were " returned to their ſtation, it was Diomedon's advice, that the " whole fleet ſhould proceed in regular line to fetch off the diſ- " abled ſhips and the crews on board them. Heraſinides was for " repairing immediately with the whole fleet againſt the enemy " at Mitylene. Thraſylus declared for the execution of both " theſe points, by leaving part of the fleet behind, and going " with the reſt againſt the enemy. His advice received the ge- " neral approbation. Each commander was to leave three ſhips " of his own diviſion;——the number of the commanders was " eight;——beſide the ten ſhips belonging to private captains, " and the ten belonging to the Samians, and the three ſhips be- " longing to the commanders in chief. All theſe together are " forty-ſeven, four for the care of every diſabled veſſel, which " were twelve in all. The officers left behind to command them " were Thraſybulus and Theramenes——that very Theramenes, " who in the laſt *aſſembly* accuſed theſe commanders;—— and " then, with the reſt of the fleet, they went out to ſea againſt " the enemy.

" In what article therefore hath their conduct been defective " or inglorious? If the behaviour hath been faulty in regard to " the enemy, thoſe who went out againſt the enemy ought by " all the rules of juſtice to be accountable for it. But ſuch " only as were aſſigned to fetch off the men, and yet did not " execute the order of their ſuperiors, ſhould be put on their " trial for not fetching them off. Thus much indeed I can " ſafely alledge in vindication of Thraſybulus and Theramenes " too, that the ſtorm prevented them from executing *that* order.

" The

" The perſons, who by good fortune were preſerved, are evi-
" dence that this is true; in which number is one of your own
" commanders, who eſcaped with life from one of the wrecks;
" and whom, though then he ſtood in need of all their aſſiſtance,
" they now will have involved in the ſame ſentence with thoſe
" who were to bring it, and yet brought it not.

" Take care therefore, my fellow-citizens of Athens, that
" ſucceſsful and victorious as you are, you act not the part of
" men who are on the brink of deſpair and ruin; that, inſtead
" of ſubmiſſion to the Gods in points that are ſubject to their
" will alone, you condemn not men for treachery when they
" were incapable of acting at all, ſince the violence of the ſtorm
" entirely prevented the execution of orders. You would be-
" have much more agreeably to juſtice, if you honoured your
" victorious commanders with crowns, rather than, in compli-
" ance with the inſtigations of wicked men, to puniſh them
" with death."

Euryptolemus, after this addreſs, proceeded to move, that " the accuſed ſhould be ſeparately put on their trials according " to the law of Canonus." The propoſal of the *ſenate* was, that " one ſummary vote ſhould be paſt upon them all." Upon holding up of hands, a majority appeared for the motion of Euryptolemus. But as Menecles entered a proteſt againſt the regularity of it, and of courſe the queſtion was put again, it was carried for the propoſal of the *ſenate*. And after this they condemned to death the eight commanders in the ſea-fight of Arginuſæ. Six of them, who were now at Athens, were actually put to death. Yet no long time after the Athenians repented of what they had done, and paſſed a *decree*, that " the perſons who had beguiled " the people in this matter ſhould be impeached for the crime, " and procure bail till they could be brought to a trial, Cal-
" lixenus in particular to be one of the number." Four other

perſons

perſons were alſo impeached, and were kept in ſafe cuſtody by their own bail. But the ſedition breaking out afterwards in the city in which Cleophon was killed, they all made their eſcape before they could be brought to a trial. Callixenus however, who afterwards returned to Athens with thoſe who came up from the Piræus into the city, was ſo univerſally deteſted, that he ſtarved himſelf to death.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

The AFFAIRS OF GREECE

By XENOPHON.

BOOK THE SECOND.

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THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BOOK II.

Proceedings of Eteonicus.

THE ſoldiers, that were at Chios with Eteonicus, ſubſiſted during ſummer on the fruits of the ſeaſon and the money they earned by working in the fields. But when winter came on, and they had no ſubſiſtance, and were both naked and barefoot, they ran into cabals, and formed a conſpiracy to make ſeizure of Chios. It was agreed amongſt them, that all ſuch as approved of the ſcheme ſhould carry a reed in their hands, in order to diſcover to each other a juſt account of their numbers. Eteonicus, who had gained intelligence of the plot, was highly perplexed in what manner to diſconcert it, becauſe of the great number of thoſe who carried reeds. He judged it too hazardous to attack them openly, leſt they ſhould run to arms; and then, ſeizing the city and turning enemies, might ruin all affairs at Chios in caſe they prevailed. On the other ſide, he thought it

would be dreadful to deſtroy ſo many perſons who were old confederates, which might open the mouths of the reſt of Greece againſt them, and give the ſoldiery an averſion from the ſervice. Taking therefore along with him fifteen perſons armed with daggers, he walked about the city; and lighting on a fellow, who had a diſorder in his eyes and was juſt come from the ſurgeon's, with a reed in his hand, he killed him on the ſpot. Hereupon a tumult beginning to riſe, and ſome demanding "for what reaſon that man was killed?"—Eteonicus orders them to be anſwered aloud—"becauſe he carried a reed." This anſwer was no ſooner given than all ſuch as carried reeds threw them inſtantly away; every one within hearing was afraid leſt he ſhould have been ſeen with one of them in his hand. Eteonicus, after this, having aſſembled the Chians, iſſued out an order to them to advance a proper ſum of money, that the ſeamen might receive their pay, and all kind of mutiny be prevented. The Chians advanced the money; and then Eteonicus ordered all the men on board. Repairing afterwards on board every veſſel in its turn, he encouraged and he adviſed them much, as if he was entirely ignorant of the late conſpiracy, and then diſtributed a month's pay to each.

The Chians and the reſt of the confederates, aſſembling afterwards at Epheſus, determined to ſend embaſſadors to Lacedæmon concerning the preſent ſtate of their affairs, who were to make their report and then deſire, that "Lyſander might be ſent to "command the fleet," who had highly recommended himſelf to the alliance during his former command, and by gaining the ſea-fight at Notium. The embaſſadors were accordingly diſpatched away, and with them ſome envoys from Cyrus who were to ſecond them. But the Lacedæmonians complied only ſo far as to ſend Lyſander to be *the Lieutenant*, for they appointed Aracus to be *Admiral in chief*: For their law doth not permit the ſame

ſame perſon to be twice in the chief command. The fleet therefore was reſigned to Lyſander, when twenty-ſeven years of the war were now compleated.

In this year Cyrus put to death Autobaſaces and Mitraeus, the ſons of a ſiſter of Darius and daughter of Artaxerxes who was father of Darius, becauſe at meeting him they had not drawn their hands within the ſleeve, a compliment paid to the King alone. The ſleeve reacheth down below the hand, and the perſon who draws his hand within it is incapable of doing any act at all. Hieramenes and his wife repreſented to Darius, that he could not in juſtice connive at ſuch outragious behavior. Darius therefore, pretending himſelf much out of order, ſends couriers to Cyrus to ſummon him to court. Cyrus.

In the following ſummer (when Archytas preſided in the college of Ephori, and Alexius was Archon at Athens) Lyſander, now arrived at Epheſus, ſends for Eteonicus with the ſhips from Chios, and collected all the reſt from their ſeveral ſtations into one grand fleet. He refitted them all for ſervice, and was building others at Antandros. He alſo made Cyrus a viſit, and aſked for money. Cyrus told him, that "all his father's money and "a great deal more beſides had already been expended," reciting particularly what each admiral in chief had received: however, he gave him a ſupply. Lyſander, thus furniſhed with money, aſſigned proper commanders to the ſhips, and paid the ſeamen their arrears. In the mean time the Athenian commanders were making preparations at Samos to go out to ſea with the fleet. Year of the Peloponnefian war, 27. Before Chriſt, 405. Lyſander *again in the command.*

At this juncture Cyrus ſent again for Lyſander, when the meſſenger was come to him from his father with the news, that "he was much out of order and wanted to ſee him," being now at Thamneria in Media near the Caduſians, againſt whom he had marched becauſe they had revolted. When Lyſander was come, he expreſsly forbade him "to engage the Athenians at

" ſea, unleſs he had by far the larger number of ſhips, ſince " both the King and himſelf were maſters of abundance of " wealth, and the fleet might be properly enlarged to ſecure " the point." He then ſhewed him an account of all the tributes from the cities which were his own appointments, and gave him what money he could ſpare. And then, having put him in mind " of the great friendſhip he bore to the Lacedæmonian ſtate, and particularly to Lyſander," he ſet out on the journey to his father.

Lyſander, when Cyrus had thus entruſted him with all his concerns and was departed in obedience to the ſummons to viſit his ſick father, after diſtributing pay to his fleet, ſailed into the Ceramic bay of Caria; where aſſaulting a city called Cedrea, that was confederate with the Athenians, he took it the ſecond day by ſtorm, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves; theſe inhabitants were half-barbarians; and from thence he ſailed away to Rhodes. The Athenians, having ſtood out from Samos, were infeſting the coaſts belonging to the King; they even ſailed up to Chios and Epheſus, and were prepared for battle. They aſſociated alſo in the command of the fleet Menander, Tydeus, and Cephiſodotus. Lyſander was now coaſting along Ionia, from Rhodes towards the Helleſpont, and the track of veſſels out of it, and againſt the cities that had revolted. The Athenians were alſo at ſea, being bound to Chios; for Aſia was entirely againſt them. Lyſander from Abydus ſailed up to Lampſacus, which was confederate with the Athenians. The Abydenians and others marched their troops thither by land. They were commanded by Thorax the Lacedæmonian; and aſſaulting Lampſacus, they take it by ſtorm. The ſoldiers plundered this city, a rich one, and plentifully ſtocked with wine and corn and other needful ſtores: but Lyſander diſmiſſed all perſons that were free without a ranſom. The Athenians, who cloſely chaced him, were now arrived

arrived at Eleus in the Cherſoneſe with an hundred and eighty ſhips. Here they had no ſooner taken their repaſte than news is brought them of what had been done at Lampſacus, when immediately they proceed to Seſtos: from whence, after victualling with the utmoſt diſpatch, they ſailed into Ægos-potamos over-againſt Lampſacus. The diſtance between them acroſs the Helleſpont is about * fifteen *ſtadia:* and here they took their evening-repaſte. Night came on; but ſo ſoon as it was break of day, Lyſander made a ſignal for his men to eat their meal and repair on board their ſhips. Having now got things in readineſs for an engagement, and made all faſt on board for defence, he iſſued out orders, that no ſhip ſhould ſtir out of the line, or go out to ſea. The Athenians, when the ſun was up, appeared before the harbour in a line abreaſt as ready to engage. But when Lyſander would not come out againſt them, and it grew late in the day, they ſailed back again into Ægos-potamos.

* 1½ *mile.*

Lyſander now ordered the nimbleſt veſſels to follow the Athenians. They were to take a view in what manner they behaved ſo ſoon as they quitted their ſhips, and then to return and bring him a report. Nor did he ſuffer any of his own men to quit their veſſels before theſe ſhips returned. He did the ſame thing for four days ſucceſſively; and the Athenians came over the ſame number of days againſt him.

Alcibiades from his own fortreſs had a view of the Athenians in their preſent ſtation, on the open beach, near no city, and obliged to go † fifteen *ſtadia* from their ſhips to fetch proviſions from Seſtos; whilſt the enemy lay in a harbour, and were ſupplied with every thing from the adjacent city. He told them therefore "they had choſen an improper ſtation;" he adviſed them "to remove to Seſtos, to a harbour, and to a city;—— "Only ſtation yourſelves there, *ſaid he*, and you will be able to "fight the enemy at your own diſcretion." But the commanders, Alcibiades.

† 1½ *mile.*

and especially Tydeus and Menander, ordered him to be gone — "since they, and not he, were at present in the command of "the fleet." Accordingly he went his way [1].

Lysander gains a great victory over the Athenians.

But Lysander, on the fifth day that the Athenians thus came over to offer him battle, ordered those who followed them in their retreat, that, "so soon as they saw them landed again, "and straggled about the Chersonese" (which they continued to do more and more every succeeding day to buy provisions at a great distance, heartily despising Lysander for not coming out against them), "they should immediately return, and when they "were got half way, should hoist a shield up in the air." They punctually obeyed his orders; and Lysander immediately made the signal for standing out to sea with all expedition. Thorax also, with the land-forces under his command, was taken on board to go along with them. Conon no sooner had a view of the enemy, than he made a signal to the ships to be ready for defence with all their might. But as the seamen were dispersed about, some ships had but two benches of rowers aboard, some only one, and some none at all. Conon's own ship, with about seven more and the *Paralus*, had their crews on board, and immediately put to sea: But all the rest Lysander took close to the shore. They had indeed drawn together most of their men on the land, but they fled away to places of safety. Conon flying with nine ships, as he found all was over with the Athenians, sailed up to cape Abarnis near Lampsacus, and carried from thence the great masts belonging to the ships of Lysander. And then with eight ships he sailed away for Cyprus to Evagoras, whilst the *Paralus* went for Athens to notify what had happened. But Lysander brought over the ships and the prisoners and every thing else to Lampsacus. And, besides others of the commanders, he had got for his pri-

[1] This is the last time any mention is made of Alcibiades, who soon after, through the instigations of Critias and Lysander, was treacherously put to death by Pharnabazus.

soners

ſoners Philocles and Adimantus. But the very day he performed theſe exploits, he ſent away Theopompus the Mileſian partizan to Lacedæmon to notify what had been done, who performed the journey in three days, and publiſhed the victory.

Lyſander afterwards called the confederates together, and deſired their advice about the priſoners. On this occaſion many bitter charges were exhibited againſt the Athenians;—"what "ſad tranſgreſſors they had formerly been!—what horrid de-"ſigns they would have put in execution had they obtained the "victory, even to cut off the right hands of all the priſoners "they ſhould take! They had thrown over-board and drowned "all the men belonging to two ſhips they had taken, one a Co-"rinthian, and the other an Andrian: and Philocles was the "very Athenian commander who had thus deſtroyed them."—Much more was ſaid at this meeting, and a reſolution was taken "to put all the Athenians who were priſoners to death except "Adimantus," who in the council of war had ſingly oppoſed the propoſal to cut off hands; however, he was charged by ſome perſons with betraying the fleet to the enemy. Lyſander therefore, having firſt put the queſtion to Philocles, who had thrown the Corinthians and Andrians overboard—"What he deſerved "to ſuffer, who had ſet the example of ſuch outragious behavior "in Greece?"—put him inſtantly to death. And, ſo ſoon as he had ſettled affairs at Lampſacus, he ſailed to Byzantium and Chalcedon. They gave him a reception, having firſt ſent away under truce the Athenian garriſons. The perſons indeed, who had betrayed Byzantium to Alcibiades, fled away to Pontus and afterwards to Athens where they were naturalized.

But Lyſander ſent home all the garriſons belonging to that ſtate, and all Athenians whatever that fell into his hands, to Athens; thither he permitted them to ſail without any moleſtation, but no where elſe. He knew, that the greater the numbers

that were collected together in the city and the Piræus, the ſooner they muſt want the neceſſaries of life. And now, leaving Sthenelaus the Lacedæmonian to be Commandant of Byzantium and Chalcedon, he himſelf returned to Lampſacus and refitted the fleet.

A great conſternation at Athens.

At Athens, where the *Paralus* arrived in the night, the calamity was told, and a ſcream of lamentation ran up from the Piræus through the *long-walls* into the city, one perſon repeating the news to another; inſomuch that no ſingle ſoul that night could take any reſt, not merely for lamenting thoſe who were loſt, but much more for reflecting what themſelves in all probability were ſoon to ſuffer—the like no doubt as themſelves had inflicted upon the Melians, when they had reduced by ſiege that colony of the Lacedæmonians, on the Iſtians alſo, and Scioneans, and Toroneans, and Æginetæ, and many other people in Greece. The next day they ſummoned a general aſſembly, in which it was reſolved to "barricado all their harbours excepting one, to repair their walls, "to fix proper watches, and prepare the city in all reſpects for "a ſiege." All hands accordingly were immediately at work.

Lyſander, who now from the Helleſpont was come to Leſbos with two hundred ſail, took in and reſettled the cities in that iſland, and eſpecially Mitylene. He alſo ſent away to the towns of Thrace ten ſhips commanded by Eteonicus, who reduced every thing there into ſubjection to the Lacedæmonians. But immediately after the fight at Ægos-potamos all Greece revolted from the Athenians, excepting Samos. At Samos the *people*, having maſſacred the * *nobility*, held the city for the Athenians.

* γναφιμων.

The ſiege of Athens.

In the next place, Lyſander ſent notice to Agis at Decelea and to Lacedæmon, that "he is ſailing up with two hundred ſhips." The Lacedæmonians immediately took the field with their whole force, as did the reſt of the Peloponneſians, except the Argives, upon receiving the order circulated by Pauſanias the other King

of Lacedæmon. When they were all aſſembled, he marched away at their head, and encamped them under the walls of Athens, in the place of exerciſe called the *Academy*. But Lyſander, when come up to Ægina, collected together all the Æginetæ he could poſſibly find, and replaced them in their city. He did the ſame to the Melians, and to the other people who formerly had been diſpoſſeſſed. In the next place, having laid Salamis waſte, he ſtationed himſelf before the Piræus with an hundred and fifty ſhips, and prevented all kind of embarkations from entering that harbour.

The Athenians, thus beſieged both by land and ſea, and deſtitute of ſhips, of allies, and of proviſions, were miſerably perplexed how to act. They judged, they had nothing to expect but ſuffering what without provocation themſelves had made others ſuffer, when they wantonly tyrannized over petty ſtates, and for no other reaſon in the world than becauſe they were confederate with the ſtate of Lacedæmon. From theſe conſiderations, after reſtoring to their full rights and privileges ſuch as were under the ſentence of *infamy*, they perſevered in holding out; and, though numbers began to die for want of meat, they would not bear any mention of *treating*. But when their corn began totally to fail, they ſent embaſſadors to Agis, offering "to become con-
"federates with the Lacedæmonians, reſerving to themſelves the
"*long-walls* and the Piræus," and on theſe terms would accept an accommodation. Yet Agis ordered them "to repair to Lace-
"dæmon, ſince he himſelf had no power to treat." When the embaſſadors had reported this anſwer to the Athenians, they ordered them to go to Lacedæmon. But when they were arrived at Sellaſia on the frontier of Laconia, and the Ephori were informed "they were to offer no other propoſals than had been
"made to Agis," they ſent them an order "to return to Athens,
"and when they heartily deſired peace, to come again with more

" favourable inſtructions." When therefore the embaſſadors returned to Athens and had reported theſe things to the ſtate, an univerſal deſpondency enſued: " Slavery, they judged, muſt un-" avoidably be their portion; and whilſt they were ſending an-" other embaſſy numbers would die of famine." No one durſt yet preſume to adviſe the demolition of the walls; ſince Archeſtratus, who had only hinted in the *ſenate* that " it would be " beſt for them to make peace on ſuch terms as the Lacedæmo-" nians propoſed," had immediately been thrown into priſon. But the Lacedæmonians propoſed, that " each of the long walls
* *About a mile.* " ſhould be demoliſhed to the length of * ten *ſtadia*;" and a decree had been paſſed that " ſuch a propoſal ſhould never be " debated."

In this ſad ſituation, Theramenes offered to the general aſſembly, that " if they would let him go to Lyſander, he could in-" form them at his return, whether the Lacedæmonians inſiſted " on the demolition of the walls with a view entirely to inſlave " them, or by way of ſecurity only for their future behavior." He was ordered to go; and he ſtaid more than three months with Lyſander, waiting till a total want of proviſions ſhould neceſſitate the Athenians to agree to any propoſal whatever. But on his return in the fourth month he reported to the general aſſembly, that " Lyſander had detained him all this time, and now orders " him to go to Lacedæmon, ſince he had no power to ſettle the " points of accommodation, which could only be done by the " Ephori." Upon this he was choſen with nine others, to go embaſſador-plenipotentiary to Lacedæmon. Lyſander ſent Ariſtotle, an Athenian, but under ſentence of exile, in company with other Lacedæmonians to the Ephori, to aſſure them that " he " had referred Theramenes to them, who alone were impowered " to make peace and war." When therefore Theramenes and the other embaſſadors were arrived at Sellaſia, and were aſked

aſked — "What inſtructions they had?"—their anſwer was,— "They had full powers to make a peace." Upon this the Ephori called them to an audience: and on their arrival at Sparta they ſummoned an aſſembly, in which the Corinthians and Thebans diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all others, though ſeveral joined in their ſentiments. They averred that "the Athenians ought "to have no peace at all, but ſhould be utterly deſtroyed." The Lacedæmonians declared, "they would never inſlave a Grecian "city that had done ſuch poſitive ſervice to Greece in the moſt "perilous times." Accordingly they granted a peace, on condition "they ſhould demoliſh the *long-walls* and the Piræus, "ſhould deliver up all their ſhips except twelve, ſhould recall "their exiles, ſhould have the ſame friends and the ſame foes "with the Lacedæmonians, and follow them at command either "by land or ſea." Theramenes and his collegues returned to Athens with theſe conditions of peace. At their entering the city a crowd of people flocked about them, fearing they had been diſmiſſed without any thing done. For their preſent ſituation would admit of no delay at all, ſuch numbers were periſhing by famine. On the day following the embaſſadors reported the terms, on which the Lacedæmonians grant a peace. Theramenes was their mouth on this occaſion, and aſſured them "they had no reſource "left, but to obey the Lacedæmonians and demoliſh the walls." Some perſons ſpoke againſt, but a large majority declaring for it, it was reſolved — "to accept the peace."

Surrender of Athens.

In purſuance of this, Lyſander ſtood into the Piræus, and the exiles returned into the city. They demoliſhed the *walls* with much alacrity, muſic playing all the time, ſince they judged this to be the firſt day that Greece was free.

Thus ended the year, in the middle of which Dionyſius the ſon of Hermocrates made himſelf tyrant of Syracuſe, after the Carthaginians had been defeated in battle by the Syracuſans,

the

tho' the former had firſt made themſelves maſters of Agrigentum, which the Sicilians too evacuated for want of proviſion.

Year before Chriſt, 404. End of the Peloponnefian war.

[In the year following were celebrated the Olympic Games, in which Crocinas the Theſſalian gained the prize in the *ſtadium* or foot-race, Eudius preſiding amongſt the Ephori at Sparta, and Pythodorus being Archon at Athens, whom the Athenians, becauſe he was appointed during the *Oligarchy*, never name in their liſt of Archons, but ſtile that year the *Anarchy*.]

An Oligarchy ſet up at Athens.

The *Oligarchy* was thus ſet up.——It was decreed by the *people*, that "*thirty* perſons ſhould be choſen to draw up a body of laws "for the future government of the ſtate." The perſons choſen were theſe —— Polyarches, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclides, Hiero, Mneſilochus, Chremon, Theramenes, Areſias, Diocles, Phædrias, Chærelaus, Anetius, Piſo, Sophocles, Eratoſthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, Theognis, Æſchines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Eraſiſtratus, Phido, Dracontides, Eumathes, Ariſtotle, Hippomachus, Mneſithides. When theſe things were done, Lyſander ſailed away for Samos; and Agis, marching away the land-army from Decelea, diſbanded them to their ſeveral cities.

About the ſame time, and when the ſun was eclipſed, Lycophron the Pheræan, who was ſcheming to be King over all Theſſaly, defeated in battle the Lariſſeans and other people of Theſſaly who made head againſt him, and ſlew many of them. At the ſame time alſo, Dionyſius tyrant of Syracuſe, being defeated in battle by the Carthaginians, loſt Gela and Camarina. And a little time after, the Leontines who lived at Syracuſe revolted from Dionyſius and the Syracuſans, and withdrew to their own city, upon which the cavalry of Syracuſe were immediately ſent by Dionyſius to Catana.

Surrender of Samos.

The Samians, inveſted on all ſides by Lyſander, treated for the firſt time about a ſurrender when he was juſt proceeding to a general

general aſſault. The capitulation was, that "all the freemen "ſhould depart with only the cloaths on their backs, and ſhould "deliver up every thing beſide;" accordingly they departed. Lyſander, having delivered over the city and all within it to its ancient inhabitants, and appointed ten commanders for the preſervation of the place, ſent home all the quotas of ſhipping belonging to the confederates; and with thoſe belonging to that ſtate he ſailed away to Lacedæmon, bringing with him all the ornaments of the ſhips he had taken from the enemy, and the ſhips out of the Piræus, twelve excepted, and the crowns that had been preſented perſonally to himſelf from the ſtates of Greece, and four hundred and ſeventy talents* of ſilver, being the ſurplus of the tributes which Cyrus aſſigned him for the war, and whatever elſe he had got in the courſe of his command. All theſe articles he delivered in to the Lacedæmonians in the cloſe of this ſummer, at which time twenty-eight years and a half[2] put an end to this war, during which the Ephori of Sparta are reckoned up in the following order. Firſt Æneſias, in whoſe time the war began, in the fifteenth year of the truce made for thirty years after the conqueſt of Eubœa. After him are theſe ——Braſidas, Iſanor, Soſtratidas, Hexarchus, Ageſiſtratus, Angenidas, Onomacles, Zeuxippus, Pityas, Pleiſtolas, Clinomachus, Hilarchus, Leon, Chæridas, Pateſiadas, Cleoſthenes, Lycarius, Eperatus, Onomantius, Alexippidas, Miſgolaidas, Hyſias, Aracus, Evarchippus, Pantacles, Pityas, Archytas, and Eudicus, in whoſe time Lyſander, having finiſhed the war as is above related, returned with the fleet to Sparta.

* 9100 l. 10 s.

[2] That is, if reckoned by the complete years of the Ephori at Sparta. But as the War began in the year of Æneſias, the firſt year of it ended in the year of Braſidas. Count Braſidas therefore firſt, and the duration of the war will appear to be twenty-ſeven years and a half, ſince it ends in the year of Eudicus. This perfectly reconciles Thucydides and Xenophon.

The

The *Thirty* were put into commiſſion at Athens, ſo ſoon as over the *long-walls* and thoſe of the Piræus were demoliſhed. They were appointed to draw up a body of laws for the future government of the ſtate, and yet were continually delaying to draw up ſuch laws and make them public; but then they filled up the ſenate and other offices of ſtate by nominations of their own. In the next place, it was their principal care to apprehend and ſubject to capital puniſhment all ſuch, as during the *democracy* had ſubſiſted by the trade of *informers*, and had been a nuiſance to honeſt and good men. Such perſons the ſenate readily condemned to death; and the whole body of Athenians, who were conſcious to themſelves that they had never been guilty of ſuch practices, were not at all diſſatisfied. But when they began to cabal together how to erect themſelves into an arbitrary council of ſtate, their firſt ſtep was to ſend Æſchines and Ariſtotle to Lacedæmon, to perſuade Lyſander to ſend them a guard, that they might effectually rid themſelves of a malignant party, in order to ſettle their future polity; and they promiſed to take the expence upon themſelves. Lyſander was perſuaded, and procured a body of guards to be ſent them under the command of Callibius. But when they had got this guard, they paid all poſſible court to Callibius, that his commendation might be given to all their meaſures. By his ſending them parties to execute their orders, they now apprehended whatever perſons they pleaſed, no longer bad men and ſcoundrels, but ſuch as they imagined would never acquieſce in their violent proceedings, would attempt reſiſtance, and had influence enough to raiſe a large party againſt them.

Critias and Theramenes at firſt had acted with great unanimity and friendſhip. But when the former, who had been exiled by the people, was impetuous for putting numbers to death, Theramenes began to claſh. He maintained it "to be quite iniquitous "to put men to death only becauſe they were honoured by the "people,

" people, and had never done any harm to the worthy and good. " For, *he added*, even I myſelf, and you too, Critias, have ad- " viſed and executed many public meaſures merely for the ſake " of obliging the people." But Critias (for he was ſtill well with Theramenes) replied—— " It was an inconſiſtency for men, " who had ſchemed to get the power into their own hands, not " to rid themſelves of ſuch as were beſt able to diſappoint their " ſcheme. You judge very ſimply indeed, if becauſe we are " thirty in number, you think we ought to be leſs vigilant in " eſtabliſhing our power, than a ſingle perſon would be for his " own perſonal tyranny." Yet, when numbers had unjuſtly been put to death, and it was viſible, that the Athenians began to form aſſociations, and to be alarmed for their future ſafety, Theramenes again declared, that " unleſs they ſtrengthened " themſelves by taking in a number of able aſſiſtants, it was " impoſſible the *Oligarchy* could be of long continuance." Here Critias and the reſt of the *Thirty* beginning to be alarmed, and not leaſt of all about Theramenes leſt the Athenians ſhould put themſelves under his protection, draw up a *liſt* of three thouſand perſons, who were to be aſſociated with them in the adminiſtration. But Theramenes again declared his ſentiments, that " it " ſeemed an abſurdity to him, for men, who had at firſt pro- " poſed to form an union only of the beſt men in the commu- " nity, to draw up a *liſt* amounting to three thouſand, as if that " number neceſſarily implied that all of them were men of ho- " nour and virtue, as if it was impoſſible for any one not in the " *liſt* to be a man of worth, or any one in it to be a villain. " But in ſhort, *ſaid he*, I plainly ſee that you are intent on two " ſchemes utterly inconſiſtent with one another, a government " to be ſupported by violence, and the agents in it much leſs " conſiderable in point of power than thoſe who are to be go- " verned." In this manner Theramenes talked.

They now ſummoned the whole city to a review; the *three thouſand* to aſſemble in the *forum*, but all the reſt who were not in the *liſt* at a diſtant place. The former they ordered to arms; and, whilſt the reſt were remotely engaged, they diſpatched the guards and ſuch of the citizens as were in combination with them, to ſeize the arms of all the Athenians excepting the *three thouſand*. And, having carried them into the citadel, they laid them up ſafe within the temple.

Theſe things being done, as if now with ſecurity they might act all their pleaſure, they put many to death from perſonal enmity, and many becauſe they were rich [3]. And to enable them to

[3] Critias had been in the earlier part of his life a diſciple of Socrates, and his bad conduct afterwards occaſioned ſeveral reproaches to be thrown upon this divine Philoſopher, as if he had given him improper leſſons. Xenophon hath juſtified Socrates from theſe reproaches in a neat and moſt convincing manner. He alſo relates a ſevere cenſure that Socrates paſſed upon the impurity of his manners; and how, when Critias became one of the *Thirty* Tyrants, and had put many worthy men to death, Socrates made in public the following obſervation: "It would "be ſtrange (ſaid he) if a perſon, who "was appointed to take care of a herd "of cattle, ſhould leſſen their number, "and reduce the remainder to a ſtate of "weakneſs, and yet not confeſs that he "was a bad keeper of cattle: but then "it is much ſtranger that a perſon, who "governing in a community of men "leſſens the number of the people under "him, and reduces the reſt to a ſtate of "deſolation, can avoid taking ſhame to "himſelf, and not confeſs that he is a "wretched Governor indeed." This (ſays Xenophon) was carried to the Tyrants; upon which Critias and Charicles ſent for Socrates, and ſhewing him the Law they had made by which he was forbidden to teach the *art* of *reaſoning*, they ſtrictly injoined him to hold no diſcourſe at all with the young men of Athens. Socrates begged leave to propoſe ſome queſtions, that he might be ſure of the meaning of this prohibition. They told him he might. "I declare "myſelf (he then went on) always ready "to obey the laws. But, leſt I ſhould "tranſgreſs through ignorance, I would "know explicitly from you, whether "you forbid me to teach the *art* of *rea-* "*ſoning*, becauſe you judge it to conſiſt "in ſaying what is right or in ſaying "what is wrong. For if it conſiſts in "ſaying what is right, you clearly for- "bid me to ſay what is right; if it con- "ſiſts.

to pay the Lacedæmonian guards they alſo made a decree, that " each perſon of the *Thirty* might apprehend one of the *ſojourners* " reſiding in the city, might put him to death, and appropriate " his wealth." They then encouraged Theramenes to apprehend what *ſojourner* he pleaſed. But the anſwer of Theramenes was— " To me it appears baſe indeed, that men, who pique themſelves " on being the beſt men in Athens, ſhould give into ſuch out- " rages as the vile tribe of *informers* could not commit. The " latter only extorted their money, but deprived not men of their " lives. But as for us, if we ſhall murder perſons who have " done us no wrong, merely to get their money, will not our

" ſiſts in ſaying what is wrong, it is cer- " tain indeed I ought always to endeavor " to ſay what is right." Charicles upon this grew angry, and replied: Since you are ſo ignorant, Socrates, we word the prohibition in ſuch a manner that you cannot miſtake; you are to hold no diſcourſe at all with the young men of Athens. " But ſtill (ſaid he) to prevent " miſtakes, and to guard me from the " leaſt breach of your commands, declare " to me, till what age you deem men " young?" Till the age preſcribed for their entrance into the ſenate (ſaid Charicles), till then they are not be deemed at years of diſcretion. Hold therefore no diſcourſe at all with perſons under thirty years of age. " Suppoſe I want ſome- " thing of a tradeſman who is under " thirty, muſt I not aſk him the price of " what I want?" Ay, ay, certainly you may, ſaid Charicles. But it is your way, Socrates, to aſk queſtions about points in which you want to inform and not to be informed. You are to aſk no ſuch queſtions as thoſe. " Suppoſe then a perſon " may aſk me, where Charicles lives, or " where Critias may be found, am I " forbidden to give him any anſwer?" Here Critias put in: You are to hold no diſcourſe at all about ſhoemakers and carpenters and braziers; tho' I fancy you have already vexed them with fetching them in for compariſons in your daily loquacity. " Why then (ſaid Socrates) " I muſt refrain too from the conſe- " quences I draw from ſuch compariſons, " and ſay nothing about juſtice and piety " and things that are right and proper?" Ay, by Jove, you muſt, and from ever mentioning again your *keepers of cattle*; if not, you may depend upon it, you ſhall ſuffer for it in your own goods and chattels too. From hence it is plain, it had been told them what Socrates had ſaid about a keeper of cattle, which had made them exceeding angry with him. Xenophon's *Memorable things of* Socrates, Book I.

" behaviour be in every reſpect more outragious than *theirs*"?" Judging from hence that Theramenes would obſtruct them in all their deſigns, they combine againſt him, and calumniate him privately to every member of the ſenate apart, as a determined oppoſer of their new polity. And then, having iſſued out orders to a party of young men, ſuch as they judged would act moſt daringly, to repair to the ſenate-houſe with daggers under their ſkirts, they convened the *ſenate*. No ſooner was Theramenes come in, than Critias roſe up, and ſpoke as follows:

Speech of Critias.

" If there be a man in this houſe, who imagines that more " perſons ſuffer death than the public welfare requireth, let him " only reflect, that in all revolutions of government ſuch every " where is the caſe. And when revolutions end here in an oli- " garchy, the greateſt number of adverſaries muſt neceſſarily " ſtart up, becauſe Athens is the moſt populous community in " Greece, and becauſe for the longeſt ſeries of time the people " here have been pampered in liberty. For our parts, Gentle- " men of the Senate, who know what an oppreſſive yoke the " democracy hath ever proved to men of ſuch qualifications as " we are and as you are; who know beſides, that the *people* can " never be well affected to the Lacedæmonians, to whom we " owe our preſervation, whereas the moſt worthy men amongſt " us may ever be their hearty friends; on theſe conſiderations, " and by advice of the Lacedæmonians, we are new modelling " our conſtitution; and, whomſoever we perceive to be an enemy " to the oligarchy, we rid ourſelves of him to the utmoſt of our " power. But then, if any one of our own body gives a dan- " gerous oppoſition to our own favourite ſcheme, nothing on " our principles can be ſo equitable as to make him ſuffer for it.

* I am for making one ſentence of two by a ſmall but neceſſary correction; viz. Ημεις δε ει αποκλενυμεν..... λαμβανομεν, ωως α. —— This is more in the manner of Xenophon. The future verb αποκλενυμεν calls for this alteration. Dr. Taylor.

" And

" And yet we are well aſſured, that this Theramenes, who ſits
" here amongſt us, is labouring his utmoſt to deſtroy both us
" and you. I ſpeak nothing but the truth. You will be con-
" vinced of it yourſelves if you only reflect, that nobody is ſo
" laviſh of his cenſure on the preſent meaſures as this very The-
" ramenes, nobody ſo ready to oppoſe when we are willing to
" put one of the demagogues out of our way. If indeed his
" principles had originally been the ſame, though this would
" prove him our enemy, it would not juſtly expoſe him to the
" title of villain. But now, this very man, the author of our
" confidence in and our friendſhip towards the Lacedæmonians,
" the author of the late demolition of the power of the *people*,
" and who was moſt active at exciting us to inflict due puniſh-
" ment on our firſt ſet of enemies,——now I ſay, when you,
" Gentlemen, have ſhewn yourſelves to be utter enemies to the
" *people*, this very man takes upon him to be diſpleaſed with
" your conduct, in order to ſecure his own perſonal ſafety, and
" leave us to be puniſhed for all that hath been done.—— Here
" beyond all doubt, we are obliged to take vengeance upon him,
" not only as an enemy but alſo as a traitor. And treachery of
" a truth is a much more heinous crime than open enmity, by
" how much more difficult it is to guard againſt what is not
" ſeen than againſt what is. Nay, it carries a more implacable
" enmity with it, ſince men at open variance with one another
" become reconciled and renew a mutual confidence; but with a
" man, who is a traitor convict, no one ever yet was, and no
" one can ever again be reconciled. But, to give you compleat
" conviction, that Theramenes is not merely a changeling but
" by nature a traitor, I will remind you of his former behaviour.

" This man, who in the early part of his days was in the
" higheſt credit with the people, as his father Agnon had been
" before him, ſhewed himſelf the moſt impetuous zealot in

" ſhifting

" ſhifting the power of the *people* into the hands of the *four-hun-*
" *dred*, and accordingly became the leading man amongſt them.
" And yet, he no ſooner perceived that a ſufficient party was
" formed againſt the *four-hundred*, than he ſet himſelf again at
" the head of the *people* againſt his own accomplices. And this
" in truth is the reaſon why he is ſtiled *the Buſkin*. The buſkin
" you know ſeems to fit both of the feet, and is a buſkin for
" either of them. But let me tell you, Theramenes, a man,
" who deſerves to live at all, ought not to ſignalize himſelf by
" leading his fellow-citizens into dangerous ſchemes, and when
" things go wrong to make a ſudden turn and deſert them. Em-
" barked as it were in the ſame ſhip with them, he ought to
" ſhare their toil, till they meet with more favourable gales.
" For in caſe he refuſeth this, how ſhall they ever reach their
" harbour in ſafety, when at every adverſe blaſt they muſt im-
" mediately invert their courſe?

" It muſt be owned, that revolutions in political bodies carry
" death and deſtruction with them. But you, Sir, moſt dex-
" trous in making your turns, were the cauſe, that an unuſual
" number was put to death by the *people* when the *oligarchy* was
" demoliſhed, and an unuſual number put to death by the *few*
" when the *democracy* was again ſuſpended. And this again is
" that very Theramenes, who after the ſea-fight on the coaſt of
" Leſbos being ordered by the commanders to fetch off their
" countrymen from the wrecks, never executed that order, and
" yet accuſed thoſe very commanders and got them to be put to
" death, though merely to ſave himſelf. And what mercy ought
" ever be ſhewn to that man, who hath made it the buſineſs of
" his life to convince the world of his own ſelfiſhneſs of heart,
" and of his total diſregard of his duty and his friends? And
" how cautiouſly ought we to behave, who are conſcious of his
" unſteddy ſhifting temper, that he may never be able to turn
" the tables upon us?

" We

" We therefore charge him before you as a dangerous and " ſubtle plotter, as a traitor to *us* and to *you*. That we act on " juſt and cogent reaſons, you will be convinced from hence— " The polity of the Lacedæmonians is allowed by you all to be " the fineſt in the world. Yet if any one of the Ephori at " Sparta, inſtead of conforming to the determinations of the " body, ſhould aſperſe their conduct and oppoſe their meaſures, " can you think he would not be judged worthy of the ſevereſt " puniſhment by all the reſt of the Ephori and by the whole " community? You therefore, Gentlemen, if you are wiſe in- " deed, will have no mercy on him, but will have mercy on " yourſelves. For if Theramenes eſcapes with life, he will give " freſh and higher ſpirits to many who are already your determined " foes; but at once put to death, he will totally confound the " hopes of all the factious either within the city or without."

Critias having ſpoke thus ſat down. And Theramenes riſing up made this defence:

Speech of Theramenes.

" I ſhall, Gentlemen, firſt reply to the finiſhing article of his " charge againſt me. He ſays——it was I, who accuſed and " got the commanders to be put to death. But I did not begin " the proſecution againſt them. It was pleaded by themſelves " in their own juſtification, that I was ordered to do it, and did " not ſave the lives of our unhappy countrymen in the ſea-fight " near Leſbos. I was heard in my own defence; and, inſiſting " on the impoſſibility of putting to ſea or fetching off the men " becauſe of the ſtorm, was judged by all Athens to have ſpoken " nothing but the truth. And ſo the charge of the commanders " againſt me turned wholly upon themſelves. For though, by " their own confeſſion, it was poſſible to ſave them, yet they " ſailed away with the fleet, and left them all to periſh.

" I am not however ſurpriſed, that Critias hath violated the " laws of equity. He was not at Arginuſæ; he ſaw no part of

" the

" the tranſactions there; but was at that time in Theſſaly, aſ-
* τῶν Ἱππέων. " ſiſting Prometheus to ſet up a democracy, and arming * *vaſſals*
" againſt their lawful ſuperiors. His exploits in Theſſaly were
" fine ones indeed! and grant Heaven we may never ſee the like
" in Athens!

" And yet in one point I entirely agree with him, that if any
" man endeavors to put an end to *your* adminiſtration, and to
" ſtrengthen the hands of your determined enemies, he ought
" in all juſtice to ſuffer the ſevereſt puniſhment. And in my
" judgment, you yourſelves, if you will only fix your recollection
" on what hath already been done and what each of us are now
" doing, will be able moſt clearly to find out the man, on whom
" the guilt of ſuch practices ought entirely to be faſtened.

" So long therefore as the points in agitation were only theſe
" ——to eſtabliſh you, Gentlemen, in the poſſeſſion of the ſe-
" nate-houſe, to appoint proper magiſtrates for the ſtate, and to
" rid the community of a notorious ſet of informers, we all of
" us proceeded in perfect unanimity. But when Critias and his
" faction began to apprehend the *worthy* and the *good*, I too be-
" gan that moment to differ in ſentiments with them. I was
" well convinced, when Leon of Salamis, who was reputed to
" be and in reality was a worthy man, without being guilty of
" the leaſt miſdemeanor, was put to death;——that all ſuch
" perſons as he would with reaſon be alarmed for themſelves,
" and thus alarmed for themſelves, muſt needs turn out enemies
" to the new adminiſtration. I was well aſſured, when Niceratus
" the ſon of Nicias was apprehended, a man of ſo large a for-
" tune, and who had never dabbled in popular intrigues, nor his
" father before him,——that all ſuch men as Niceratus muſt
" needs conceive an averſion towards you. And again, when
" Antipho was put to death by you, Antipho, who during the
" war fitted out two ſhips that were excellent ſailors at his own ex-
" pence,

" pence, I was firmly perſuaded, that all men, who from pure
" generoſity were deſirous to ſerve their country, muſt entertain
" ſuſpicions of you. I alſo oppoſed, when they urged the ne-
" ceſſity for each perſon to ſeize one of the *ſojourners* reſiding in
" the city. For it was plain to me, that by putting theſe men
" to death, the whole body of *ſojourners* muſt be made enemies
" to ſuch an adminiſtration. I alſo declared my oppoſition to
" taking away their arms from the body of the citizens, judging,
" that we ought not in this manner to weaken our own commu-
" nity. I knew the Lacedæmonians could never intend, when
" they determined to ſave us, that we ſhould be reduced ſo low
" as never again to be able to do them ſervice. For had this
" been their ſcheme, it was once in their power, to have left
" not one ſingle Athenian alive, ſince famine in a little time
" would have done it for them. And I never could give my
" conſent to take into our pay theſe foreign guards, when we
" might have been ſupported by a competent number of honeſt
" Athenians, till by gentle methods we had brought thoſe who
" were to be governed into quiet ſubmiſſion to us who were to
" govern. And when I perceived, that numbers of men in
" Athens were actually become enemies to the new adminiſtra-
" tion, and numbers of our countrymen were driven into exile,
" I could never approve, that either Thraſybulus or Anytus or
" Alcibiades ſhould be ſent into exile after the reſt. For I plainly
" ſaw, that an acceſſion of ſtrength accrued to our enemies,
" when able heads were driven out to command the multitude,
" and numbers ſhewed themſelves ready to follow ſuch as were
" willing to command them.

" Ought therefore the man, who openly remonſtrates aloud
" againſt ſuch violent meaſures, to be eſteemed an honeſt man
" or a traitor? You are miſtaken, Critias. The perſons, who
" reſtrain you from increaſing the number of your foes, who

" perſuade you to enlarge to the utmoſt the number of your " friends, can in no light be regarded as agents for your foes. " By every rule of judging, that character belongs to others, to " ſuch as make plunder of the property of their neighbors, to " ſuch as unjuſtly put the innocent to death. Such men, beyond " all contradiction, enlarge the number of our enemies; ſuch " men are traitors not only to their friends but even to their own " ſelves, for the ſake of filthy lucre.

" But if you are not yet convinced that I ſpeak the truth, " conſider it in another light. What ſet of meaſures, whether " thoſe which I recommend or thoſe to which Critias and his " faction adhere, do you think are moſt pleaſing to Thraſybulus " and Anytus and the reſt of the exiles? For my own part I am " thoroughly perſuaded, that this very moment they are confi- " dent that all the world is on their ſide. But were only the " beſt families of Athens well-affected to us, they would judge " it difficult indeed to get the leaſt footing any where within " our borders.

" And now examine attentively with me the remaining part " of his charge, that I have been for ever turning about.—— " It was the people of Athens, and they alone, who placed the " government in the hands of the *Four-hundred.* They were " convinced, that the Lacedæmonians would truſt to any form " of government whatever ſooner than the *democracy*. But, " when after all they would not relax in their demands, and a " factious parcel of our own commanders, ſuch as Ariſtotle, Me- " lanthius, and Ariſtarchus, were raiſing a work at the end of " the pier, and with a manifeſt deſign, to let the enemy in " amongſt us, and ſubject the ſtate to themſelves and others;—— " if I detected and put a ſtop to their ſcheme, am I therefore a " traitor to my friends? He ſtiles me indeed the *Buſkin*, as if I " endeavored to fit both parties. And how then, good Heaven!

" muſt

" muſt we ſtile that man, who could never yet ingratiate him-
" ſelf with any party at all? When the *democracy* was in being,
" you, Critias, were judged the bittereſt enemy the people ever
" had; and, during the *ariſtocracy*, you ſignalized your abhor-
" rence of all good men. But I, good Sir! have ever been
" waging war againſt thoſe, who formerly thought a democracy
" never to be ſafe, till every ſlave and every ſcoundrel, who to
" gain a *drachma* would have ſold the community, ſhould have
" a ſhare in the government for the price of a *drachma*; and
" have as conſtantly ſignalized myſelf in oppoſition to thoſe,
" who think an oligarchy can never be ſafe, till they have en-
" ſlaved the whole community to a ſmall parcel of tyrants.
" Athens was then beſt conſtituted, when a competent number
" of citizens were ready to defend her with their horſes and
" their ſhields. I thought ſo formerly; and this very moment
" I think the ſame. If you have any objections, Critias, tell
" theſe Gentlemen, on what occaſion I ever attempted, in con-
" junction either with a factious populace or a ſmall parcel of
" tyrants, to deprive any good and worthy Athenian, of the
" right and privileges to which he had juſt pretenſions. For in
" caſe I am convicted of doing ſo now, or ever to have done ſo
" in the former part of my life, I frankly own that death in its
" ſeverity ought in all juſtice to be my doom."

Here Theramenes ended his defence; and a murmur, intimating their good-will to him, ran round the ſenate. Critias was convinced by this, that, ſhould he ſuffer the ſenate to proceed to a vote, Theramenes would eſcape him. But, regarding this as worſe than death to himſelf, after drawing near and conferring a while with the *Thirty*, he went out, and ordered thoſe, who had daggers about them, to go into the houſe and take their ſtand at the bar. And then, coming in again, he ſpoke as follows:

Speech of Critias.

" Gentlemen of the ſenate, I reckon it the duty of a good " magiſtrate, not to ſtand by quietly and ſuffer groſs impoſitions " to paſs upon his friends: and it ſhall be my care at preſent to " diſcharge that duty. For, even thoſe Gentlemen, who now " ſtand round the Bar, declare they will never ſuffer us to let a " man eſcape with impunity, who openly avows himſelf an " enemy to the oligarchy. It is indeed enacted in the new body " of laws, that no perſon in the liſt of the *Three-thouſand* ſhall " be put to death unleſs by a vote of the ſenate, but that the " *Thirty* be impowered to put any to death who are not in that " *liſt*. I therefore *(he went on)* with your entire approbation " ſtrike the name of this Theramenes here out of the liſt; —— " and *We (he added)* order him to be put to death."

Theramenes, hearing this, leaped upon the altar, and cried out:

Speech of Theramenes.

" I make to you, Gentlemen of the ſenate, the moſt righteous " requeſt that ever can be made, by no means to ſuffer Critias " to ſtrike out my name, or any of your names, at pleaſure, " but to adhere to the law which theſe very perſons have en- " acted concerning thoſe in the *liſt*, that both I and yourſelves " may be judged according to the law. Of this by heaven I am " well perſuaded, that even this altar will avail me nothing. " But I would willingly convince you all, that theſe men are " not only moſt unjuſt in regard to their fellow-creatures, but " moſt irreligious too towards the Gods. And yet I am ſurpriſed " at you, men as you are of honour and worth, that you will " not ſuccour your own ſelves, though ſo well aware, that my " name is not eaſier to be ſtruck out of the liſt, than the name " of any one amongſt you."

Theramenes put to death.

But here the cryer belonging to the *Thirty* ordered the *Eleven*[1] to go and ſeize Theramenes. Accordingly they came in, attended

[1] Public executioners of juſtice.

by their own ſervants, with Satyrus the moſt reprobate and audacious fellow alive at their head. Critias thus addreſſed himſelf to them —— "We deliver over to you that Theramenes yonder, "who by law is condemned to die. Seize him you whoſe office "it is; and then, convey him hence to the proper place, and "do your duty." So ſoon as Critias had ſpoken, Satyrus was pulling him from off the altar, the ſervants too were helping to pull him down. Theramenes, as was likely he ſhould, called aloud upon Gods and men to take notice of what was doing. The ſenate continued quietly in their ſeats, ſeeing the bar ſurrounded by fellows like Satyrus, and the area before the ſenate-houſe quite filled with the foreign guards, not ignorant beſides that thoſe within had daggers about them. They hurried Theramenes away acroſs the *forum*, in very loud lamentations deploring his fate. One thing he ſaid is ſtill talked of, and it is this —— When Satyrus told him — "If he did not hold his tongue, he would make "his heart ach" — he replied — "But, will not my heart ach, "though I ſhould hold my tongue?" And at the time of his execution, when he had drank off the poiſon, they ſay he daſhed the little that was left in the cup upon the ground, and ſaid —— "May the brave Critias pledge me!" I am not ignorant indeed, that ſuch ſententious eſcapes are not worth relating; but this I think worthy of admiration in the man, that in the very hour of death neither his good-ſenſe nor his pleaſantry forſook him. And in this manner Theramenes died [a].

The *Thirty*, as if they were now at liberty to tyrannize without reſtraint, iſſued out an order to all, whoſe names were not in the *liſt*, not to come into the city. They drove them alſo out of the country, that themſelves and their friends might get into poſſeſſion of their eſtates. It was to the Piræus that they went

[a] And ſoon after Alcibiades was murdered by Pharnabazus at the requeſt of Lyſander, owing entirely to the inſtigations of Critias.

chiefly

chiefly for refuge; but numbers of them, driven out alſo from thence, filled both Megara and Thebes with Athenian exiles.

Before Chriſt, 403. Thraſybulus *takes up arms againſt the Thirty.*

Immediately after this it was that Thraſybulus, ſetting out from Thebes with about ſeventy perſons in company, poſſeſſeth himſelf of the ſtrong fort of Phyle. The *Thirty* marched immediately out of Athens to recover the place, attended by the *Three-thouſand* and the horſemen of the ſtate; and the weather was very calm and fine. On their approach to Phyle, ſome of the younger ſort, who piqued themſelves on their bravery, immediately attacked the fort with no manner of ſucceſs, ſince they were obliged to retire with plenty of wounds. But, the *Thirty* having formed a deſign to throw up a work, in order by cutting off the conveyance of all neceſſaries the more eaſily to reduce them, there fell in the night an exceeding deep ſnow. Next morning, having been well drenched by the ſnow, they marched back to Athens, after loſing many of their baggage-men in the retreat by a party that purſued them from Phyle. Apprehenſive too, that they would plunder the adjacent country, if a guard was not properly poſted, they diſpatch almoſt all the Lacedæmonian guards and two troops of horſe to the extremity of their frontier about * fifteen *ſtadia* from Phyle: theſe, having encamped themſelves on a rough ſpot of ground, ſet themſelves on the watch.

* 1½ *mile.*

But Thraſybulus, as now ſeven hundred perſons were got together at [7] Phyle, put himſelf at their head, and marched out by night. Having ordered them to ground their arms [8] at the diſtance of

[7] Marginal reading of the Paris Edition, 1625.

[8] This paſſage with two others cited below juſtifies the Engliſh tranſlation *ground their arms.* I am perſuaded it ought always to be ſo tranſlated, when the Greek phraſe Θεμενος τα οπλα ſtands ſimply and abſolutely by itſelf; for επι την γην or ſomething like it is in this caſe underſtood. The addition indeed of another or of more words may vary the meaning. But in theſe paſſages the context determines the meaning beyond a doubt. Need it be mentioned, that when

of three or four *ſtadia* from the guard, he halted for a time. But, at the approach of day, and the enemy beginning to get up and ſtraggle on their neceſſary buſineſs from the camp, and the noiſe being heard which the grooms made in currying their horſes, at this juncture the party under Thraſybulus recovered their arms, and came running in amongſt them. They made ſome of them priſoners; and put all the reſt to flight, purſuing them to the diſtance of ſix or ſeven *ſtadia*. They ſlew more than one hundred and twenty of the heavy-armed, and Nicoſtratus (who was called the *handſome*) of the horſe-men: two other horſemen they had ſeized in their beds. After quitting the purſuit and erecting a trophy, they packed up all the arms and baggage they had taken from the enemy, and marched back to Phyle. The horſemen, who marched out of Athens to ſuccour their brethren, were too late to gain the fight even of a ſingle foe. They continued how-

when ſoldiers halt or are upon a guard, it eaſeth them much to *ground their arms*, the men ſometimes ſtanding, ſometimes lying down in their ranks, nay ſometimes walking about, yet if diſcipline be alive to no greater diſtance, than to be able on the moſt ſudden alarm to fall again into their ranks, and *recover their arms*. But to the point in hand:

Thraſybulus under favor of the dark is got undiſcovered within three or four ſtadia of the enemy. The better to direct his attack he waits for day-light; and in the mean time to eaſe his men and preſerve their vigor for action, θεμενος τα οπλα ησυχιαν ειχεν ... but at day-light αναλαβουσι τα οπλα ... προσεπιπλουν.

See farther p. 73. l. 22. where the action is rather more diſtinct, for the men only ground their ſhields and not their ſpears or javelins, τας μεν ασπιδας θεσθαι κελευσας τας ασπιδας, και αυλος θεμενος, τα δ' αλλα οπλα εχων ... ελεξεν. And when the ſpeech is ended, the correſponding phraſe ſoon occurs, αιειλαβε or ανειλαβον τα οπλα.

See alſo Book VII. near the end, where Epaminondas is preparing for the battle of Mantinea ... θεσθαι τα οπλα, ως επι παραταξιν. This could never be *ſtanding to their arms*, which could not have impoſed upon the enemy. But he ordered the arms to be *grounded* as if he was going, not to fight but, to encamp. The enemy obſerved the action and was deceived, for Epaminondas ſoon ſaw his opportunity ... τοτε δη αναλαβειν παραγγελας τα οπλα ... and began the attack.

ever

ever in the field, till their relations had carried off the dead, and then withdrew into the city.

The *Thirty*, who now apprehended that their power began to totter, bethought themſelves of ſecuring Eleuſis, that, when things were at the worſt, they might be ſure of a place of ſhelter. Having therefore iſſued out orders to the Athenian horſe to attend, Critias and the reſt of the *Thirty* repaired to Eleuſis; where, having ordered out to a review the horſemen of Eleuſis, pretending they muſt know exactly how many they were and how many more were wanting to garriſon the place, they commanded them all to give in their names; and each perſon, ſo ſoon as his name was taken down, was ordered to go through the wicket to the ſea. They had poſted their own horſe on either ſide of the wicket upon the beach; and the ſervants ſeized and bound every Eleuſinian as he came out of the wicket. And, when all of them were bound in this manner, they ordered Lyſimachus who commanded the horſe to deliver them into the cuſtody of the *Eleven*. Next day they aſſembled in the Odeum the heavy-armed in the *liſt* and the reſt of the horſemen, where Critias roſe up, and addreſſed them thus: "We, Gentlemen, are ſettling a new "form of goverment for your benefit as much as for our own. "You therefore are obliged, as you will ſhare the honours, to "take an equal ſhare in all the dangers. You muſt therefore "ſentence to death the Eleuſinians whom we have ſecured, that "both in your hopes and in your fears you may be united with "us."—— Then, having pointed out a certain ſpot, he ordered them to give their ballots in the preſence of all the aſſembly. But the Lacedæmonian guards were this moment drawn up under arms ſo as to fill half the Odeum. Yet even this behavior was not diſpleaſing to ſome citizens of Athens, to ſuch as had no regard for any thing but their own ſelves.

The

The number of thoſe who had gathered together at Phyle was now increaſed to a thouſand; and Thraſybulus, putting himſelf at their head, marcheth by night into the Piræus. No ſooner had the *Thirty* intelligence of it than in perſon they ſallied out againſt them with the Lacedæmonian guards, the horſemen, and the heavy-armed. They took their march along the cart-way that goes down to the Piræus. Thoſe from Phyle for ſome time attempted to ſtop their approach. But as ſo large a compaſs of ground was judged to require a very large number of men to guard it, and themſelves were few indeed, they wheeled off by regular bodies into Munychia. Thoſe from the city immediately repaired into the *forum* of Hippodameia, where having formed into regular order, they afterwards filled up the way that leads to the temple of Diana in Munychia and to the Bendideum. They were in depth not leſs than fifty ſhields; and, thus drawn up, they were mounting the aſcent. But thoſe from Phyle likewiſe filled up the road, though they were not more than ten heavy-armed in depth. The targeteers and light-armed darters were poſted behind them, and behind theſe were the ſlingers. The latter were numerous indeed, ſince now they were in a way of continual increaſe. But during the enemy's approach, Thraſybulus ordered his men to ground their ſhields. And, having laid down his own, though keeping the reſt of his arms, he placed himſelf in the midſt of them, and harangued them thus:

Speech of Thraſybulus.

" I am deſirous, my Fellow-citizens, to inform ſome of you, " and put the reſt in mind, that of yonder body now approach- " ing to fight us thoſe poſted on the right are the very people, " whom you beat and purſued but five days ago. But thoſe in " the extremity of the left are the *Thirty*, who have deprived " us, though guilty of no offence at all, of our rights and li- " berties, have driven us from our houſes, and by an illegal " ſentence ſtripped the deareſt friends we have of all their pro-

" perty. But now we have them faſt, where they expected
" never to have been found, and we have continually been pray-
" ing to find them. With arms in our power we are now drawn
" up and face them. All the heavenly powers know, we have
" been ſeized upon during the hours of repaſte and the hours of
" repoſe and our peaceable walks upon the *forum*; and that ſome
" of us, ſo far from having offended at all, and not even reſiding
" in the city, have been doomed to exile; and all theſe heavenly
" powers at preſent declare themſelves on our ſide. For inſtance,
" in the fineſt weather they raiſe a ſtorm, when it ſerves our
" cauſe; and, when we give the aſſault to a more numerous body
" of our foes, they have enabled us, though but a handfull of
" men, to erect our trophies. And now they have led us to a
" ſpot of ground, in which the enemy cannot throw their darts
" or javelins over the heads of the heavy-armed in their own
" front, becauſe they are mounting an aſcent; whilſt ourſelves,
" who are to throw our javelins and darts and ſtones down hill,
" ſhall reach them at every throw, and ſhall wound numbers.
" It was but reaſonable to judge we ſhould have been obliged to
" engage the heavy-armed in their van on level ground: but
" now, if you will only throw your weapons in the proper and
" judicious manner, the way is ſo crowded with them that every
" weapon muſt do execution, and they have no defence left but
" to be ſculking perpetually under their ſhields. Diſabled thus
" from ſeeing their aſſailants, we ſhall have opportunities to
" ſtrike at our own diſcretion, and of driving each fighting man
" from his rank.

" But you, my Fellow-citizens, ſhould act with the full con-
" viction, that each man amongſt you muſt perſonally earn the
" victory at preſent. For that victory, if heaven awards it us,
" will inſtantly reſtore us our country and our habitations and
" our liberty and our honours, and to ſome amongſt us our

" children

" children and our wives. Happy men indeed will ſuch of us " be, as after the victory ſhall ſee the ſweeteſt day that men can " live. And bleſſed will he be too, who dies in the ſtruggle: " for all the wealth in the world cannot purchaſe ſo noble a " monument as will be that man's portion.——I myſelf at the " proper time ſhall begin the *pæan*: and when we have invoked " the God of battle, then with one heart and all our hands " united let us revenge ourſelves on yonder men for all the " wrongs they have made us ſuffer."

After this harangue, he returned again to his poſt, and ſtood quietly facing the enemy. For the ſoothſayer had ſtrictly injoined him " in no wiſe to begin the attack before one of their own " people was either killed or wounded.——So ſoon as ever that " happens, we ourſelves *(ſaid he)* ſhall lead you forwards. The " conſequence to you will be victory, and death to me, if I pro- " phefy right." He was no falſe prophet: for, the moment they recovered their arms, he jumped out of the rank, like a man hurried by divine impulſe; and, ruſhing among the enemy, dies in a moment, and was buried at the ford of the Cephiſſus. His friends obtained a victory, and carried their purſuit down into the plain.

Critias and Hippomachus of the *Thirty*, and Charmidas the ſon of Glauco, one of the ten governors of the Piræus, and others to the number of ſeventy loſt their lives in the engagement. The conquerors plundered them of their arms, but ſtrip'd off the garment from none of their fellow-citizens. And when all was over, and they had granted a truce for fetching off the dead, they began to approach and confer with one another, till at length Cleocritus, herald of the Myſtæ, remarkable for the loudneſs of his voice, proclaimed ſilence, and ſpoke as follows: Critias *killed.*

" What is the reaſon, my Fellow-citizens, that you drive us " from Athens? What is the reaſon, you are ſo intent on *Speech of* Cleocritus.

" deſtroying us? On no occaſion whatever have we done you
" any wrong, but have ever ſhared along with you the moſt
" ſolemn temples, the moſt pompous ſacrifices and feaſts. We
" have aſſiſted in the ſame chorus's, we have walked in the
" ſame proceſſions, we have ſerved in the ſame armies, and have
" partook the ſame dangers with you both by ſea and land, in
" defence of the common ſafety and liberty of us all. I con-
" jure you therefore by our parental Gods, by the ties of affi-
" nity, conſanguinity, and friendſhip (for in all theſe reſpects
" we are many of us connected together),—I conjure you to ſhew
" ſome reverence both to Gods and men, by ceaſing to ſin againſt
" your country, and by no longer obeying theſe execrable ty-
" rants, who for their own private gain have nearly ſlain as
" many citizens of Athens in the ſpace of eight months, as all
" the Peloponneſians ſlew in ten years war. We might have
" lived together in an orderly and peaceable manner; but theſe
" tyrants oblige us to make war upon one another — a war, the
" baſeſt, moſt grievous, moſt impious, and moſt abominated by
" Gods and men, that human creatures were ever engaged in. But
" know, for moſt true it is, that ſome of thoſe perſons, who died
" by our hands in the late engagement, have coſt abundance of
" tears to ourſelves as well as to you."

In this manner Cleocritus ſpoke; but the commanders on the other ſide, and the ſooner too for having heard ſuch a ſpeech, marched away their people into the city.

The Tyranny demoliſhed.

The day following, the *Thirty*, ſolitary and quite dejected, took their ſeats in council. But the *Three-thouſand*, whereſoever poſted, were at variance one with another. So many of them as had committed any acts of violence, and were now alarmed for their own ſafety, declared in a vehement tone againſt ſubmiſſion in any ſhape to thoſe in the Piræus. But as many as were conſcious they had done no harm, immediately ſaw matters in a

true

true light, and were perſuading the reſt, that "the preſent evil "ſituation was not in the leaſt conducive to their welfare." They inſiſted "it was no longer their duty to obey the *Thirty*, nor ſuffer "them to deſtroy their country." And at laſt they paſſed a decree "to put an end to the *Thirty*, and elect others." Accordingly they choſe *Ten*, one out of every tribe. The *Thirty* went off immediately to Eleuſis. But the *Ten*, as the city was full of confuſion and mutual diffidence, applied themſelves to preſerve the peace with the aid of the generals of the horſe. The horſemen, with both horſes and ſhields, paſſed the night in the Odeum. Diſtruſtful as they were, they patroled from the beginning of night towards the walls with their ſhields, and when it was near day on horſeback, being under continual apprehenſions, leſt a body of men from the Piræus might break in amongſt them. The latter, as they were now become exceeding numerous and a collection of all ſorts of perſons, were buſy in making themſelves ſhields of wood or the twigs of oſier, and theſe were afterwards whitened. Yet before ten days were paſſed, proper ſecurity being given that "whoever would join them in arms, even though "they were not natives of Athens, ſhould be admitted to an "equal ſhare of right and privilege," many of the heavy-armed, and many of the light-armed too went off to the Piræus. Their horſemen alſo were now increaſed to the number of ſeventy. In the day-time they went out to forage, and having fetched in wood and the fruits of the ſeaſon, repoſed themſelves by night in the Piræus. Not one of the heavy-armed in the city ſallied out againſt them; but the horſe came once to a ſkirmiſh with the plundering parties from the Piræus, and threw the body that covered them into diſorder. Another time they fell in with ſome [9] perſons of the borough of Ænone, going to their own lands to fetch

[9] *Των εξω νεων* in the Greek; but I tranſlate it *Αιξωνεων*, according to the reading of Palmerius.

proviſions,

proviſions, and took them priſoners; and theſe Lyſimachus, one of the generals of horſe, immediately butchered, though they begged hard for their lives, and many of the horſemen expreſſed an abhorrence at putting them to death. And thoſe in the Piræus retaliated upon them, by butchering in like manner Calliſtratus of the horſe of the Leontine tribe, whom they took priſoner in the country. For now their ſpirits were raiſed ſo high that they even gave an aſſault to the walls of the city. And here it may be excuſable to mention a mechanic of the city, who becoming well aſſured, that the enemy would place their battering machines in the courſe that goes out of the Lyceum, ordered all the carts to load with ſingle ſtones, and throw them down at their own diſcretion in the courſe. For when this was performed, the removal of each of theſe ſtones gave the enemy a deal of trouble.

Lyſander. Embaſſadors were now ſent away to Lacedæmon, not only by the *Thirty* from Eleuſis, but by thoſe in the *liſt* from Athens, who intreated their ſpeedy aid, ſince the *people* had revolted from the Lacedæmonians. Lyſander, reaſoning with himſelf that "a ſiege both "by land and ſea muſt quickly reduce the enemy in the Piræus "if they were deprived of all future ſupplies," exerted himſelf ſo effectually, that a hundred talents * were advanced by way of loan for this ſervice, and himſelf was ordered to go and command by land, and his brother Libys by ſea. He himſelf went off immediately to Eleuſis, where he collected into a body the heavy-armed from Peloponneſus. Libys in the mean time kept ſo ſtrict a watch at ſea, that not one boat with proviſions could get into the Piræus. By this means thoſe in the Piræus were ſoon diſtreſſed by famine, whilſt thoſe in the city were greatly animated by the coming of Lyſander.

* 20,050 *l.*

Pauſanias. When affairs were in this ſituation, Pauſanias king of Sparta, envious of Lyſander, ſince if he ſucceeded now his glory would be greater than ever and Athens would become entirely his own,

obtained

obtained the conſent of three of the Ephori, and proclaims a foreign expedition. All the confederates put themſelves under his command, except the Bœotians and Corinthians, who alledged that "they could not in any conſiſtence with their oaths make "war againſt the Athenians, who had broken no one article of "the peace." The true motive of their refuſal was their own perſuaſion, that the Lacedæmonians deſigned to get poſſeſſion of all Attica, and to make it a province of their own. Pauſanias however encamped the army near the Piræus at Halipedum. He himſelf commanded in the right, and Lyſander with the mercenary troops had the left. He ſent embaſſadors to thoſe in the Piræus, commanding them "to ſeparate and be gone." But as they refuſed compliance, he proceeded to an aſſault, to the noiſe of one at leaſt, that he might conceal his real deſign to ſave them. And, when no advantage could be gained by ſuch an aſſault, he again retired.

A ſkirmiſh between Pauſanias *and* Thraſybulus.

The day following, putting himſelf at the head of two Lacedæmonian brigades and three troops of the Athenian horſe, he marched down to the *Still harbour*, examining in what manner a circumvallation might be thrown up quite round the Piræus. But, in his return to the camp, as ſome of the enemy ſallied out upon him and retarded his march, he grew angry, and ordered the horſe to ride out upon them, and the firſt claſs of Spartans to advance with the horſe, whilſt himſelf followed with the reſt of his force. They ſlew about thirty of the light-armed, and purſued the reſt to the theatre in the Piræus. All the targeteers happened to be drawn up there in arms, and the heavy-armed too of the Piræus. The light-armed ſallied out in a moment againſt the enemy; they were poiſing, were throwing, were ſhooting, were ſlinging. The Lacedæmonians, as numbers of them were wounded, unable to withſtand the attack, gave ground. Their enemies, perceiving this, plied upon them more briſkly than ever.

Here Chæron and Thibracus, both of them general-officers, are ſlain; Lacrates alſo an Olympic victor and other Lacedæmonians, who are buried in the Ceramicus near the gates. Thraſybulus ſaw what was doing, and with the reſt of the heavy-armed marched to the aid of his own people: and they were ſoon formed eight deep before the light-armed. But Pauſanias, who was greatly diſtreſſed, and had already retreated four or five *ſtadia* to ſome riſing ground, ſent orders to the Lacedæmonians and the reſt of the confederates to march up to him. And then, having drawn his whole army into a very deep and compact body, he led them againſt the Athenians. The latter ſtood the ſhock; but ſome of them were ſoon driven into the mud at Alæ, and ſome took to flight. About an hundred and fifty of them were ſlain. And Pauſanias, after erecting a trophy, marched away to his camp.

An accommodation brought about.

He was not after all this exaſperated againſt them; but, ſecretly ſending his emiſſaries amongſt them, inſtructs thoſe in the Piræus "to addreſs themſelves by an embaſſy to himſelf and the Ephori "with him with ſuch and ſuch propoſals." They followed his inſtructions. He raiſeth farther a diviſion in the city, and orders as large a number of them as could be got together to repair to his camp with a remonſtrance, that "they ſaw no reaſon at all "to continue the war againſt thoſe in the Piræus, but they "ought to be reconciled, and all parties unite in being friends "to the Lacedæmonians." Nauclides, one of the Ephori, heard this remonſtrance with pleaſure. For, ſince by the laws of Sparta two Ephori muſt accompany the King in the field, and he himſelf and another perſon were now attending in that capacity, both of them were more in the ſentiments of Pauſanias than in thoſe of Lyſander. For this reaſon therefore they readily diſpatched away to Lacedæmon the embaſſadors from thoſe in the Piræus (who carried with them the articles agreed upon in relation

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tion to the Lacedæmonians) and ſome perſons without a public character from thoſe in the city, beſide Cephiſophon and Melitus. After theſe were ſet out for Lacedæmon, thoſe who had now authority in the city ſent a deputation after them, declaring that "they actually ſurrender the walls that are yet in their power "and their own perſons to the Lacedæmonians at diſcretion; but "they think it reaſonable, that they in the Piræus, if they pre- "tend to be friends to the Lacedæmonians, ſhould alſo ſurrender "to them the Piræus and Munychia." The Ephori and council of *ſtate*, having heard all ſides, diſpatched fifteen perſons to Athens, and ordered them in concurrence with Pauſanias to compleat the reconciliation on the moſt honourable terms that could be made. They compleated it on theſe, that "they ſhould be at peace with "one another; ſhould on each ſide repair to their own habita- "tions, except the *Thirty* and the *Eleven* and the *Ten* who had "commanded in the Piræus;—But in caſe any of thoſe in the city "were afraid to continue there, they might withdraw to Eleuſis."

All points being now adjuſted, Pauſanias diſbanded his army: and they of the Piræus, marching up under arms into the citadel, ſacrificed to Minerva. But when the commanders were come down again from the citadel, Thraſybulus ſpoke as follows:

Speech of Thraſybulus.

"To you, Athenians who have been of the party in the city, I give this advice, that you would know your own ſelves. This "knowledge you will readily gain, if you will reflect, for what "reaſon you took ſo highly upon you as to attempt to make us "your ſlaves. Are you men of more integrity [10] than we? Why, "the body of the people, poor indeed as they are in compariſon "with you, have never for money done you any injury: but you, "who have more wealth than all the people put together, from "the mere motives of avarice, have done many ſcandalous injuries to them. Since therefore the plea of integrity cannot avail

[10] Δικαιότεροι, marg. reading, Paris Edit. 1625.

" you, conſider another. Have you taken ſo highly upon you,
" becauſe you are men of greater bravery? Why, what clearer
" deciſion can be made of this point, than the manner we have
" warred upon one another? But it is wiſdom, you may ſay, in
" which you excell.—You had fortifications, you had arms, you
" had wealth, you had beſide the Peloponneſians for your con-
" federates, and yet have been overpowered by men, who had
" none at all of theſe advantages. Yet perhaps you took ſo highly
" upon you, becauſe the Lacedæmonians were your friends?—
" But how? Why, as men faſten " biting curs by a collar,
" and give them up to thoſe they have bitten, juſt ſo the Lace-
" dæmonians, after giving up you to an injured people, have rid
" themſelves of you, and are gone. Far be it however from me,
" Athenians, to incite any of you to a violation in any degree of
" the oaths you have ſworn. I only exhort you to ſhew all
" mankind, that, beſide all your other glories, you can keep
" your oaths, and be religiouſly good."

Having ſpoken thus, and ſaid a great deal more, about refraining from giving any farther diſturbance to one another and adhering firmly to their ancient laws, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. Having next appointed a new ſet of magiſtrates, the government went regularly forwards. But hearing ſome time after, that thoſe at Eleuſis were taking foreigners into pay, they marched againſt them with the whole force of the city, and ſlew the commanders when they came out to parley. They ſent their friends and relations amongſt the reſt to perſuade them to a reconciliation. At length, having ſworn to one another that " they would never " remember grievances," they to this day live quietly together, and the people ſtand firm to their oaths.

Year before Chriſt, 402.

The Amneſty.

" Ωσπερ οι τυς δακνουλας κυνας κλοιω, marginal reading, Paris Ed. 1625.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

The AFFAIRS OF GREECE

By XENOPHON.

BOOK THE THIRD.

CONTENTS.

War in Asia. History of Mania; and the subtle conduct of Dercyllidas.—Agesilaus declared one of the Kings at Sparta. His Expedition into Asia, and his noble conduct.—War in Greece between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, in which Lysander is slain.

THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BOOK III.

THE ſedition at Athens was in this manner brought to an end. Year before Chriſt, 401.

After this, Cyrus ſent envoys to Lacedæmon, and demanded that "as he had behaved towards the Lacedæmonians "in the war againſt the Athenians, ſo now the Lacedæmonians "ſhould behave towards him." The Ephori, acknowledging the equity of his demand, ſent orders to Samius who was at this time admiral of their fleet, "to do all the ſervice in his power "to Cyrus." Samius accordingly performed with chearfulneſs whatever Cyrus deſired of him. For, having joined his own fleet with that of Cyrus, he ſailed round to Cilicia, and diſabled Syennefis governor of Cilicia from giving any moleſtation by land to Cyrus in his march againſt the King. Yet in what manner Cyrus drew an army together, and conducted the expedition againſt his

400. 399. 398. 397. 396. Cyrus.

Brother, and how the battle was fought, and how Cyrus loſt his life, and how afterwards the Greeks retreated ſafe to the ſea, hath been written by Themiſtogenes the Syracuſan [1].

Tiſſaphernes.

But now when Tiſſaphernes, who was judged to have done the King excellent ſervice in the war againſt his Brother, was ſent down again to be governor of the provinces he himſelf had governed before, and of thoſe alſo which had belonged to Cyrus, he immediately inſiſted that all the cities of Ionia ſhould acknowledge him for their maſter: but theſe, from a deſire to be free, and added to their dread of Tiſſaphernes, with whom they had never acted, but had always joined Cyrus ſo long as he was living, refuſed to receive him within their walls. On the contrary, they diſpatched away embaſſadors to Lacedæmon, repreſenting there that "as the Lacedæmonians are the ruling ſtate in Greece, they "were bound to take under their protection the Greeks in Aſia, "that their lands might not be ravaged and they might ſtill be "free." The Lacedæmonians therefore ſent Thimbro to take upon him the command, having aſſigned him a thouſand ſoldiers of thoſe who were *newly infranchiſed* and four thouſand other Peloponneſians. Thimbro deſired farther to have three hundred horſe from the Athenians, promiſing that he himſelf would take care to pay them. They ſent him that number, compoſed of ſuch perſons as had ſerved in the cavalry under the *Thirty*, judging it clear gain to the *People*, if *theſe* were ſent into a foreign country and periſhed there.

Thimbro commands in Aſia.

When theſe were arrived in Aſia, Thimbro further drew the troops together that belonged to the Greek cities on that continent. For all thoſe cities readily obeyed, as a Lacedæmonian

[1] There is no ſuch Hiſtory now to be met with. So fine a ſubject no doubt excited others to write as well as Themiſtogenes. But Xenophon only was equal to the taſk of penning his own atchievements. It ſeems probable from hence, that he had not yet written or at leaſt not finiſhed his own hiſtory of the *Anabaſis*.

was

was now in the command. And yet with all this army Thimbro would not march down into the plains: he was awed by the enemy's horſe, and contented himſelf to preſerve the country where he was from devaſtation. But when thoſe, who had been in the expedition with Cyrus, were ſafely returned [2] and had joined his army, he ever after that drew up boldly in the plains againſt Tiſſaphernes. He became maſter of ſome cities; of Pergamus, by voluntary ſurrender; of Teuthrania alſo and Aliſarnia, which belonged to Euryſthenes and Procles the deſcendants of Demaratus the Lacedæmonian: for this country had been given to Demaratus by the King in requital for his ſerving with him in the invaſion of Greece. Gorgio alſo and Gongylus came over to him. They were brothers; and one of them was maſter of Gambrium and Palægambrium, the other of Myrine and Grynium. Theſe cities alſo were a preſent from the King to Gongylus, the only perſon who had been exiled from Eretria for his attachment to the Medes. There were cities too, which becauſe of their weakneſs Thimbro reduced by ſtorm. Yet he was obliged to encamp before Lariſſa, which is ſtiled the *Ægyptian*, and beſiege it in form, becauſe it would not hearken to any capitulation. And when he could not reduce it by other methods, he ſunk a deep pit from whence he continued a ſubterraneous trench, with a deſign to draw off their water. But as the beſieged by frequent ſallies from the walls filled up the pit with pieces of timber and ſtones, he built a wooden penthouſe and placed it over the pit. And yet the Lariſſeans, who made a ſudden ſally in the night, ſet fire to this penthouſe and burnt it to aſhes. As he was now judged to be doing nothing, the Ephori ſent him an order to raiſe the ſiege and march into Caria. But, when he was got to Epheſus in order to begin that expedition, Dercyllidas came with orders to ſuperſede him in the command; a man in high reputation

Year before Chriſt, 398.

[2] Under the command of Xenophon himſelf.

for

for the ſubtlety of his genius, and for that reaſon known by the name of *Siſyphus*. Thimbro therefore departed for Sparta, where he was fined and ſent into exile, ſince the confederates preferred an accuſation againſt him, for permitting his ſoldiers to plunder their friends.

Thimbro's exile.

Dercyllidas was no ſooner in the command, than knowing that Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus were ſuſpicious of each other, he had an interview and made a private bargain with the former, and then led off his army into the country of Pharnabazus, chuſing rather to make war againſt one of them ſingly than againſt both of them at once. Beſide this, Dercyllidas had been of a long time an enemy to Pharnabazus. For having been commandant at Abydus whilſt Lyſander was admiral of the fleet, a complaint had been made againſt him by Pharnabazus, for which he was obliged to ſtand holding his ſhield. By all Lacedæmonians of ſpirit this is reckoned high diſgrace, as it is the puniſhment for breach of diſcipline. And for this reaſon he marched with more pleaſure to himſelf againſt Pharnabazus. He ſoon convinced the world, that he was a much better man for command than Thimbro; for, as he marched his army through a friendly country all the way to Æolia that belonged to Pharnabazus, he did no damage at all to the confederates.

Dercyllidas commands in Aſia.

Æolia indeed belonged to Pharnabazus; but one Zenis a Dardan, ſo long as he lived, had been governor of the province under him. But when Zenis was carried off by ſickneſs, and Pharnabazus was preparing to diſpoſe of the government to another perſon, Mania the wife of Zenis, who alſo herſelf was a Dardan, having got her equipage in order and taken money with her to make preſents to Pharnabazus and to gratify his miſtreſſes and favorites, performed her journey, and being admitted to an audience addreſſed him thus:

Hiſtory of Mania.

"My

" My husband, Pharnabazus, was in all other respects your " hearty friend, and was punctual in the payment of his tri- " butes: For this you gave him praises, and you gave him ho- " nours too. If therefore I myself can serve you in no worse a " manner than he did, why should you appoint any other person " to command the province? If indeed I should not answer your " expectations, it will be always in your power to remove me, " and to bestow the government upon another." Speech of Mania.

Pharnabazus, having heard her, determined that the Lady should be Governante of the province. And when she was settled in it, she paid the tributes with as much punctuality as her husband had paid them; and beside that, whenever she waited upon Pharnabazus, she constantly brought him presents. Nay, whenever he came into her province, she entertained him in a more generous and elegant manner than any of his subgovernors. All the cities that originally belonged to her district she kept firm in their obedience, and enlarged the number by the acquisition of some on the sea-coast; for instance, of Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ. She assaulted these places with troops she had hired from Greece. Seated in a high chariot she viewed every attack, and was remarkably liberal in her gratuities to those whom she had a mind to distinguish for their good behavior; and by this means was become mistress of a most splendid body of mercenaries. She even took the field in company with Pharnabazus, whenever he invaded the Mysians or Pisidians for committing hostilities on the dominions of the King. Pharnabazus in return loaded her with honours, and on some occasions gave her even a seat in his council. She was now above forty years of age, when Midias her daughter's husband, buoyed up by some of his flatterers, who represented " how base it was that a woman should " rule and himself be only a private person," whilst she was on her guard against all the world beside, as people in such invidious

ſtations, muſt neceſſarily be, but had an entire confidence in and even a fondneſs for him, as much as a mother-in-law can have for her daughter's huſband,——this Midias, I ſay, is reported to have ſtolen into her chamber and ſtrangled her. He alſo put her ſon to death, who was a moſt beautiful youth, and not above ſeventeen years of age. And after theſe murders he took poſſeſſion of Scepſis and Gergis, two fortified cities, in which Mania had repoſited the greateſt part of her treaſures. The other cities would not ſubmit to him, but the garriſons within preſerved them for Pharnabazus. *Midias after this ſent preſents to Pharnabazus*, and ſolicited the government of the province which had belonged to Mania. He was ordered to keep his preſents, "till "Pharnabazus came in perſon to take into his cuſtody both the "preſents and the ſender. For he declared "he would either "loſe his life, or be revenged for Mania."

Proceedings of Dercyllidas.

At this very time Dercyllidas arrives; and immediately, in one and the ſame day, was maſter by their voluntary ſurrender of the cities on the coaſt, Lariſſa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ. He alſo ſent round to the Æolian cities, inſiſting upon it, that they ſhould aſſert their freedom, ſhould receive him within their walls, and become confederates. Accordingly the Neandrians and Ilians and Cocylitans obeyed the ſummons; for, as theſe cities were garriſoned by Grecians, they had not been well dealt with ſince the death of Mania. But the commandant of Cebren, who found himſelf at the head of a garriſon in a well-fortified town, had judged that, in caſe he preſerved the town for Pharnabazus, he ſhould be nobly recompenced for it, and therefore refuſed to receive Dercyllidas. Exaſperated at this refuſal, Dercyllidas prepared for an aſſault. But when on the firſt day's ſacrifice the victims were not favorable, he ſacrificed again the day after. And when nothing appeared favorable at this ſecond ſacrifice, on the third day he ſacrificed again. Nay he continued to do ſo four

days

days together, though inwardly very much diſſatisfied. He was eager to compaſs the reduction of all Æolia, before Pharnabazus could come up to its ſuccour.

One Athenadas of Sicyon, who commanded a company of heavy-armed, took it into his head, that Dercyllidas trifled ſadly on this occaſion, and that he himſelf could cut off the water of the Cebrenians. Running up therefore with his own company, he endeavored to fill up their fountain. But the inhabitants, ſallying out againſt him, wounded Athenadas, killed two of his men, and ſometimes fighting cloſe and ſometimes at a diſtance entirely repulſed them. Whilſt Dercyllidas was fretting at this incident, and judged it might ſlacken the ardour of the aſſault, the heralds of the Greeks came out from the wall, and aſſured him "they did not concur in the behavior of their commander, "but choſe rather to be along with their countrymen than along "with a Barbarian." Whilſt they were yet ſpeaking, a meſſenger came alſo from the commandant, declaring that "what the he-"ralds ſaid was his own ſenſe of things." Dercyllidas therefore the next day, for he had now ſacrificed with favorable ſigns, ordered his ſoldiers to their arms, and led them towards the gates. They threw open the gates, and gave them admittance. Having therefore fixed a garriſon here, he marched immediately againſt Scepſis and Gergis.

But Midias, who expected Pharnabazus and was even afraid of the inhabitants, ſent a meſſage to Dercyllidas and aſſured him, that "if he would give him hoſtages, he would come out "to a conference." He immediately ſent him one from each of the confederate cities, and bade him take which of them and as many of them as he pleaſed. Midias took ten of them, and came out. And now advancing to Dercyllidas he aſked him — "On what conditions he might be a confederate?" He anſwered — "By leaving the inhabitants of the cities in a ſtate of

" freedom and independance;" — and ſaying theſe words he moved forwards to Scepſis. Midias, ſenſible that if the inhabitants were willing to admit him he could not prevent it, ſuffered him to enter the city. Dercyllidas, after ſacrificing to Minerva in the citadel of the Scepſians, made the garriſon of Midias withdraw; and, having delivered the city to the inhabitants, and exhorted them to behave for the future as Grecians and as freemen ought, he left it and marched towards Gergis. But many of the Scepſians, as they honoured the man and were highly pleaſed with his behavior, accompanied his march. Midias further, who was ſtill in company, begged him to leave in his cuſtody the city of the Gergithians; to which Dercyllidas replied, that " he ſhould have juſtice done him in every reſpect." And ſaying theſe words, he went up to the gates with Midias; and his army followed him by two and two in a moſt peaceful manner. The people on the turrets, which were exceeding lofty, as they ſaw Midias with him, threw not ſo much as a ſingle dart. But when Dercyllidas ſaid to him —— " Order the gates to be opened, Mi-" dias, that you may ſhew me the way, and I go with you to " the temple, and ſacrifice to Minerva,"——here Midias boggled about opening the gates. Afraid however that he ſhould inſtantly be put under arreſt, he ordered them to be opened. Dercyllidas was no ſooner in the town, than, with Midias ſtill at his ſide, he went to the citadel. He ordered his ſoldiers to ground their arms round the walls, but with his own attendants he ſacrificed to Minerva. When he had finiſhed the ſacrifice, he ordered the guards of Midias to go and ground their arms in the front of his own troops, as now taken into his pay, ſince Midias had no longer any thing to fear. Midias however, who began to be in great anxiety, ſaid to him —— " I muſt leave you for the pre-" ſent, to go and get ready for you the hoſpitable feaſt."—— " That is what I never ſhall permit, *replied Dercyllidas,* ſince it

" would

" would be baſe in me, who have offered the ſacrifice, to accept
" of an entertainment from the man whom I ought to feaſt.
" Stay therefore here with us; and, whilſt ſupper is preparing,
" let you and I confer together about what ought to be done,
" and then we will do it."

When the company was ſeated, Dercyllidas began with this queſtion—" Tell me, Midias, did your father leave you in
" poſſeſſion of all his ſubſtance?" " He did," ſaid Midias.
" And how many houſes have you in all? how many fields have
" you? how many paſtures?" Whilſt he was reciting the particulars, ſome of the Scepſians who were preſent cried out—
" He tells lies, Dercyllidas." " You need not inſiſt," replied Dercyllidas, " on his being quite exact." When he had recited all his inheritance—" But tell me," Dercyllidas went on,
" who did Mania belong to?" The whole company anſwered,
—" To Pharnabazus." " Then all ſhe had belonged alſo to
" Pharnabazus?" " It did," was the general anſwer. " There-
" fore it now belongs to us," ſaid Dercyllidas, " by right of
" conqueſt, for Pharnabazus is an enemy to us. And let ſome-
" body ſhew me, where the effects of Mania and Pharnabazus
" are lodged." Some perſons led him directly to the houſe of Mania, which Midias had appropriated to his own uſe, and Midias himſelf followed. So ſoon as he entered the houſe, Dercyllidas called for the upper ſervants, and, having ordered his own people to take them into cuſtody, he threatened them, that " if
" they were caught ſecreting any thing that belonged to Mania,
" they ſhould be inſtantly put to death:" But they made a clear diſcovery. When he had ſurveyed the whole, he made all faſt, clapped on his own ſeal, and appointed a guard. As he was coming out of the houſe, he ſaw many of his officers at the door, and ſaid to them—" We have here a fine ſupply for the army;
" near a year's pay for eight thouſand men; and if we can earn

" any

" any more in good time, it will be ſo much the better." This he ſaid purpoſely, concluding that all who heard him would obſerve diſcipline better, and would ſtudy more to oblige him. But Midias aſking him now—" And where am I to live, Dercylli-" das?" " Juſt where you ought, *he replied*, in Scepſis where " you was born, and in the houſe you inherit from your Fa-" ther."

Dercyllidas, having ſo far acted with ſucceſs and taken nine cities in eight days, conſulted with himſelf, how he might avoid taking up his winter-quarters in a friendly country, leſt he might be burthenſome to the confederates as Thimbro had been, and yet ſo that Pharnabazus might be ſufficiently awed from harraſſing the Greek cities with his horſe. He ſends therefore to the latter, and aſks him, whether he choſe to have war or peace? Pharnabazus, reflecting that Æolia was now become a continued fortification againſt Phrygia in which he himſelf reſided, declared for a truce. And when the point was ſettled, Dercyllidas, marching into Bithynian-Thrace, paſſed the winter there; at which Pharnabazus was very little if at all concerned, for theſe Bithynians were often making war upon him. In this country Dercyllidas ſpent his time, ſending out parties who harraſſed all Bithynia, and furniſhed his quarters with neceſſaries in the moſt plentiful manner. And when about two hundred Odryſian horſe and about three hundred targeteers were croſſed over from Seuthes to join him, they formed a ſeparate camp, which they fortified with a circular work, at the diſtance of * twenty *ſtadia* from the camp of the Grecians; and having begged Dercyllidas to ſend them ſome of his heavy-armed to guard their camp, they went out for plunder, and took many ſlaves and valuable effects. When their camp was at length quite crowded with priſoners, the Bithynians, who had gained intelligence, how many went out to plunder, and how many Grecians were left behind to guard their camp, having

* *About two miles.*

drawn

drawn together a vaſt body of targeteers and horſemen, about break of day ruſh upon the heavy-armed who were about two hundred. At the firſt approach, ſome were throwing in their darts, others were toſſing in their javelins amongſt them. The defendants, who though amidſt wounds and death could yet do nothing for their own preſervation, ſhut up as they were within a work as high as their own heads, tore down an opening in it, and ſallied out againſt them. But their enemies retreated before them at every ſally, and being but targeteers ſlipped with eaſe out of the way of men in heavy armour. But they ſtill were galling them on their flanks with javelins, and ſtruck many of them to the ground at every ſally. In ſhort, pent up as it were in a fold, they were ſlain by darts and javelins. Not but that about fifteen of this number eſcaped in ſafety to the camp of the Grecians; but theſe had wheeled off in time, when they firſt perceived the enemy's deſign, and, as in the hurry of engaging the Bithynians had not attended to their motions, effected their eſcape. The Bithynians, after ſo much ſucceſs and putting all the tent-keepers of the Odryſian-Thracians to the ſword, marched quickly away and carried off with them all the priſoners; ſo that the Grecians, who marched thither ſo ſoon as they had notice of the affair, found nothing at all in the camp but naked dead. The Odryſians at their return, after interring their own dead, ſwallowing a great quantity of wine on the occaſion, and ſolemnizing an horſe-race, encamped themſelves for the future along with the Grecians, and continued to lay Bithynia waſte with fire and ſword.

So ſoon as it was ſpring, Dercyllidas left Bithynia and arrives at Lampſacus. Whilſt he was there, Aracus and Navates and Antiſthenes arrive from the magiſtracy of Sparta. They were commiſſioned to inſpect the ſtate of affairs in Aſia, and notify to Dercyllidas that he muſt continue in the command another year. Year before Chriſt, 397.

They

They had farther been particularly injoined by the Ephori, to aſſemble all the ſoldiers and tell them in their name, that "they "had juſtly been diſpleaſed at their behavior in former years; "but as lately they had been guilty of no miſbehavior, they "commended them for it;" and, in regard to the time to come, to aſſure them, that "if they behaved amiſs, they ſhould find "no connivence in *them*; but in caſe they behaved juſtly towards "the confederates, *they* will give them all due commendation." When therefore they called an aſſembly of the ſoldiers and delivered their inſtructions, [1] the commander of thoſe who had ſerved under Cyrus made the following anſwer:

"We for our parts, Lacedæmonians, are the very ſame per-"ſons now that we were the preceding year; but the commander "in chief is quite another perſon now than he who commanded "then. You are capable yourſelves to diſcern the reaſons, why "we committed ſo many irregularities then, and commit none "at all at preſent."

At an entertainment that Dercyllidas gave in his own quarters to the commiſſioners from Sparta, ſome perſons, who belonged to the retinue of Aracus, let fall the mention of an embaſſy now at Sparta from the Cherſoneſus. It was ſaid, they were repreſenting at Sparta, that "they were not able to till the lands in "the Cherſoneſus, where every thing was continually ravaged "and plundered by the Thracians; but in caſe a fortification was "raiſed from ſea to ſea, they ſhould poſſeſs in ſecurity a great "quantity of good land, enough for themſelves and for all La-"cedæmonians that would ſettle upon it." It was added, "they "ſhould not be ſurpriſed, if ſome Lacedæmonian was ſent out "by the ſtate with a body of men to carry this work into exe-"cution." Dercyllidas, who liſtened to this diſcourſe, diſcovered nothing at all of his preſent ſentiments to the company,

[1] Xenophon himſelf.

but

but ſent away the commiſſioners through the Grecian cities to Epheſus [*]. He was delighted with the thought, that they would ſee thoſe cities living happily in peace. The commiſſioners accordingly proceeded on their journey.

Dercyllidas, as he knew he was to continue another year in the command, ſent once more to Pharnabazus, and demanded — "whether he was for a truce as during the laſt winter, or for "war?" And Pharnabazus preferring at this time too a continuation of the truce, Dercyllidas, leaving all the confederate cities that were near to Pharnabazus in peace, paſſeth over the Helleſpont into Europe with his army. And then marching through the part of Thrace in friendſhip with him, where he was hoſpitably entertained by Seuthes, he arrives at the Cherſoneſus. Finding now, that it contained eleven or twelve cities, was the beſt and moſt fruitful country in the world, though ſadly ravaged, as was ſaid before, by the Thracians, he meaſured the iſthmus, and found it to be * thirty-ſeven *ſtadia* over. He loſt no time, but after a ſacrifice began to raiſe a fortification. He divided out the ground to the different parties of his army. He promiſed rewards to ſuch as ſooneſt compleated the parts aſſigned them, and to all in proportion to their diligence. He began it in the ſpring, and before autumn he had compleatly finiſhed the work. He incloſed within it eleven cities, many harbours, a large quantity of excellent ground for tillage, a large quantity too of plantations, and a vaſt number of the fineſt paſtures for all ſorts of cattle. And now, he again repaſſed into Aſia.

* *Near four miles.*

Taking here a ſurvey of the cities, he found all well in every reſpect, except that the exiles from Chios had poſſeſſed themſelves of Atarna a ſtrong town, and by excurſions from thence were extending their ravages all over Ionia, and ſubſiſting themſelves

[*] The Text is απ' Εφεσε, but I tranſlate it according to Dr. Taylor's reading επ' Εφεσε.

by this practice. But learning that they had a great ſtore of corn, he inveſted the place, and beſieged it in form. And having in eight months reduced it to a ſurrender, and appointed Draco of Pellene to take care of the place, and filled the magazines within it with all kind of ſtores, that it might ſupply him with every thing he wanted whenever he came to Atarna, he marched for Epheſus, which is three days journey from Sardis.

Year before Chriſt, 396.

Till this time there had been peace between Tiſſaphernes and Dercyllidas, and alſo between the Grecians of thoſe parts and the Barbarians. But when embaſſadors from the Grecian cities had been at Lacedæmon, and had repreſented to the ſtate, "that "Tiſſaphernes, if he had a mind, might leave all the cities quite "free and independent;" adding, that "in caſe a war was car-"ried vigorouſly into Caria, where Tiſſaphernes reſided, they "judged he might ſoon be prevailed upon to leave them "all in perfect liberty;" the Ephori, after liſtening to theſe repreſentations, ſent over to Dercyllidas, and ordered him to march with his army into Caria, and Pharax, who commanded at ſea, to attend the expedition with the fleet. They accordingly obeyed their orders.

But juſt at this time Pharnabazus was arrived on a viſit to Tiſſaphernes, as well to compliment him on his being declared governor in chief over all, as to teſtify for himſelf, that he was ready to concur in a general war, to join his troops with Tiſſaphernes, and drive the Greeks out of their maſter's dominions. But at the bottom he was ſadly mortified at the pre-eminence given to Tiſſaphernes, and was alſo grieved at the loſs of Æolia. Tiſſaphernes, after giving him the hearing, anſwered—"In the "firſt place therefore come along with me into Caria, and there "we will afterwards conſult together about theſe other points." And when they were in Caria, they thought proper to place ſufficient garriſons in all the fortified places, and then to proceed againſt Ionia.

When

When Dercyllidas had received intelligence that they had again paſſed the Mæander, he made known his fears to Pharax, leſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus, finding no reſiſtance in the country, might extend their devaſtations at pleaſure; and then he immediately repaſſed the Mæander. His troops were advancing forwards without any regular order, as judging the enemy to be got already on the lands of the Epheſians [a]; when on a ſudden, they diſcover from the oppoſite ſhore ſome of their ſcouts [b] mounted on the tombs. Upon which, climbing up themſelves on the tombs and ſome turrets that were near, they had a view of their army drawn up in order of battle on the very ground they were to march over. It conſiſted of the Carians diſtinguiſhed by the name of Leucaſpidæ, of all the Perſian troops they had been able to draw together, of the Grecian troops in the pay of both theſe chiefs, and a very numerous cavalry, thoſe belonging to Tiſſaphernes being poſted in the right wing, thoſe belonging to Pharnabazus in the left. When Dercyllidas ſaw this, he iſſued out his orders to the officers of the heavy-armed to draw them up eight in depth, and to poſt the targeteers, and the horſe as many and ſuch as he had, upon the flanks; and then he offered ſacrifice. All the troops from Peloponneſus obſerved on this occaſion a deep ſilence, and prepared for battle. But of the men from Priene and Achilleum and the iſlands and the cities of Ionia, ſome ran inſtantly away, throwing their arms into the corn (for in the plains of Mæander the corn was very high), and ſuch as were left ſhewed plainly they would not ſtand. It was reported, that Pharnabazus declared ſtrongly for fighting. Tiſſaphernes however, who recalled to his remembrance in what manner the Greeks under Cyrus had fought againſt them, and judged that all Greeks were men of the ſame ſpirit and reſolution, would not

[a] The marginal reading, πολεμιων εις τὴν Εφεσιαν.

[b] For σκοπα read σκοπας.

be perſuaded to fight. But ſending to Dercyllidas he notified to him, that "he deſired to meet and have a conference with him." Dercyllidas, taking with him ſuch perſons both of the horſe and foot as made the fineſt appearance, advanced towards the meſſengers, and ſaid — "I was ready here prepared for battle, as "yourſelves perceive. But ſince your Maſter is deſirous of a "conference, I have nothing to object. Yet before the conference "begins, we muſt receive and exchange ſecurities and hoſtages." This point being agreed to and executed, the armies drew off; the Barbarian army to Tralles of Phrygia, and the Grecian to Leucophrys, where was a temple of Diana, held in high veneration, and a lake more than a *ſtadium* in length, of a ſandy bottom, kept full by perpetual ſprings, its water fine for drinking and warm. And theſe were the incidents of the preſent day.

On the day following they met at the place of conference; and it was agreed on each ſide, to propoſe the terms on which a peace ſhould be made. Dercyllidas ſaid, "it ſhould be on con-"dition the King would leave the Grecian cities entirely free." Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus anſwered, "on condition the Gre-"cian army evacuates the dominions of the King, and the com-"mandants from Lacedæmon do the ſame by the cities." On theſe conditions they made a truce, till the treaty could be reported for ratification, by Dercyllidas at Lacedæmon, and by Tiſſaphernes to the King.

Year before Chriſt, 401. *The war againſt* Elis.

Whilſt Dercyllidas was thus employed in Aſia, the Lacedæmonians, who had long been exaſperated againſt the Eleans;—[7] becauſe they had entered into an offenſive and defenſive league with the Athenians and Argives and Mantineans; and becauſe, on the pretext that themſelves had not paid a fine ſet upon them, they had refuſed them a ſhare in the equeſtrian and gymnic games; and not ſatisfied with this refuſal, when Lichas had entered his chariot

[7] See *Thucydides*, Book V.

in

in the name of the Thebans, and they accordingly were proclaimed victors, becauſe Lichas came forwards and crowned the charioteer, they ſcourged that venerable man and expelled him the aſſembly; and later in time, when Agis had been ſent in purſuance of an oracle to ſacrifice to Jupiter, the Eleans would not ſuffer him to pray for a ſucceſsful war, pretending it was an old eſtabliſhed rule, that Grecians ſhould not conſult an oracle in relation to a war againſt their countrymen, on which account he was obliged to depart without ſacrificing at all;—— upon all theſe provocations, it was decreed by the Ephori and the council of ſtate, "to reduce them to a more ſubmiſſive temper." They diſpatched therefore an embaſſy to Elis with the notification, that "the regency of Lacedæmon had judged it equitable, that the "Eleans ſhould leave all the cities adjacent to Elis in perfect "liberty." The Eleans anſwering, "they would not do it, "ſince they were maſters of thoſe cities by the right of war," the Ephori proclaimed an expedition againſt them.

Agis, who commanded the army, marched through Achaia and entered Elea not far from Lariſſa. But, the army being now in the enemy's country and extending their devaſtations, an earthquake is felt. Agis, reckoning this an inhibition from heaven, retreated out of the country, and diſbanded his army. After this the Eleans were in higher ſpirits than ever, and ſent embaſſies round to every ſtate, whom they knew to be diſaffected to the Lacedæmonians.

Agis commands.

But the year after, the Ephori again proclaim an expedition againſt Elis; and, excepting the Bœotians and Corinthians, all the confederates, nay even the Athenians, attended with their troops in this army under Agis. As Agis entered now by the way of Aulon, the Lepreatæ revolted from the Eleans and immediately joined him. The Macyſtians ſoon did the ſame, and immediately after them the Epitalians. And, when he had paſſed the river, the

Year before Chriſt, 400. *He commands again.*

the Leprinians and Amphidolians and Marganians came over to him. After this, he went to Olympia, and ſacrificed to Olympian Jove, no creature any longer endeavoring to ſtop him. After the ſacrifice, he advanced towards Elis, putting all the country to fire and ſword; nay, a vaſt number of cattle and a vaſt number of ſlaves were taken on this occaſion. Very many of the Arcadians and Achæans, who had heard what was doing, flocked down to the army as volunteers, and got a ſhare of the plunder. And this expedition was as it were a general forage for the benefit of Peloponneſus. But when Agis had reached the city, he deſtroyed the ſuburbs and the gymnaſiums which were very ſplendid; yet as to the city itſelf (which was not fortified) the world judged, it was not in his choice rather than not in his power to take it.

A maſſacre and ſedition in Elis.

The country being thus deſtroyed, and the army being now in the neighborhood of Cyllene, one Xenias and his accomplices, who according to the proverb were meaſuring their wealth before they had it, being deſirous of ſecuring Elis for the Lacedæmonians, ruſhed out from his houſe by night with daggers, and began a maſſacre. Amidſt the number of thoſe they put to death they had killed a perſon very much reſembling Thraſydæus, who was head of the *popular* party, and were perſuaded they had killed Thraſydæus himſelf, inſomuch that the people were quite diſpirited, and made no reſiſtance at all. The aſſaſſins now judged that all was ſecure; and their whole party were coming out in arms to join them in the market-place. In the mean time Thraſydæus was ſtill ſleeping in the houſe where he had been ſpending the evening. So ſoon therefore as the people knew he was not dead, they came flocking in crowds about the houſe, like a ſwarm of bees around their monarch. And when Thraſydæus had put himſelf at their head and marched them up, a battle enſued in which the people were victorious. But thoſe, who had

had been concerned in the aſſaſſinations, made their eſcape to the Lacedæmonians. When Agis in his retreat had repaſſed the Alpheus, he left a garriſon to be commanded by Lyſippus and the fugitives from Elis in Epitalium near the Alpheus; after which he diſbanded the army, and returned to Sparta. But during the reſt of the ſummer and the enſuing winter, the territory of the Eleans was expoſed to the continued ravage of Lyſippus and his ſoldiers.

The ſummer after Thraſydæus ſent his agents to Lacedæmon, declaring his aſſent to a demolition of the fortifications and to ſetting at perfect liberty Cyllene and the cities of Triphylia, Phrixa and Epitalium and Leprine, the Amphidolians too, and the Marganians; adding to theſe the Acronians alſo and Laſium that was claimed by the Arcadians. The Eleans however inſiſted on ſtill keeping Epeum, which is ſituated between the city of Heræa and Maciſthus. They ſaid, "they had purchaſed the "whole diſtrict at the price of thirty talents * from the perſons "who at the time of the ſale were poſſeſſed of the city, and "had actually paid the money." But the Lacedæmonians, who knew the injuſtice was the ſame, between forcing people to ſell, or forcing them to quit their property, obliged them alſo to ſet Epeum at liberty. However they would not ſtrip them of the privilege to be guardians of the temple of Olympian Jove, though it did not originally belong to the Eleans. They judged the people † who claimed it to be only a company of peaſants, and not at all qualified for ſo important a truſt. Theſe points being ſettled, a peace and a confederacy enſued between the Eleans and the Lacedæmonians. And thus the war between the Lacedæmonians and Eleans was brought to an end. Year before Chriſt, 399. *A peace.*

* 581*l.* 10*s.*

† *The* Piſans.

Agis after this repaired to Delphi, and offered up the tenth of the ſpoil. But in his return, ſince he was far advanced in years, he fell ſick at Heræa, and being with ſome difficulty brought *Death of* Agis.

Ageſilaus *choſen King of* Sparta.

brought home yet alive, died ſoon after at Sparta, and was buried in too pompous a manner for mortal man. When the uſual time of mourning was expired, and his ſucceſſor to be declared, two competitors appeared, Leotychides who called himſelf the ſon, and Ageſilaus who was the brother of Agis. Leotychides ſaid[8]: "The law, Ageſilaus, expreſsly injoins, that not the brother "but the ſon of the King ſhall reign." "Yet, if there be no "ſon," Ageſilaus replied, "the brother reigns; the right there- "fore is in me." "What! is there no ſon, and I alive?" "None; becauſe he, whom you call your father, never owned "you for his ſon[9]." "But my mother, who knows the truth "much better than he, proteſts that I am." "Yes; but then "Neptune hath clearly proved that it is all a fiction, who by an

[8] The Text of Xenophon is in the following diſpute about the ſucceſſion very perplexed and certainly corrupt. In the Tranſlation I have made uſe of three various readings in the margin of the Paris Edition by Leunclavius, 1625. But there is no marginal reading to help us out in the cloſe, where this knotty expreſſion occurs μη προσπλαισας τις χωλευση. ... The learned Dr. Taylor hath favored me with his ſentiments upon it, to which I have paid a due regard in the tranſlation. "The words (he ſays) may poſſibly be "mended by the help of Plutarch, who "in the *Life of Lyſander* reciting this "ſtory, has μη προσπλαισας τις αρχη, "and in that of *Ageſilaus* μη προσπλαισας "τις βασιλευση; one of which words "muſt be given here to Xenophon. For "as the Text ſtands, it is juſt as if he "had ſaid μη χωλευων τις χωλευση. "Poſſibly χωλος may be added in the "margin to explain προσπλαισας (as be- "ing a more unuſual word), and ſo was "reduced to χωλευση, and joſtled out "the true word βασιλευση or αρχη. Or "it may be thus: There wants no verb "at all in this place. See how it runs, "φυλαξαθαι μη προσπλαισας τις, αλλα "μαλλον μη εκ ων τε γενος, βασιλευση. Let us apply the words of Plutarch to the whole paſſage; Ου γαρ ει προσπλαισας τις τον ποδα βασιλευση τω θεω διαφερειν· αλλ' ει μη γνησιος ων, μηδε Ηρακλειδης, τοδε την χωλην ειναι βασιλειαν. *Plutarch* in *Ageſil.*

[9] He is ſaid to have been the ſon of Alcibiades, who during his reſidence at Sparta had an intrigue with Timæa. She was exceſſively fond of this gallant Athenian, and within doors always called this ſon Alcibiades. But Alcibiades was uſed to profeſs, that he carried on the intrigue with Timæa, not from any lewd or wanton motive, but only that his own poſterity might reign at Sparta. *Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades.*

"earthquake

" earthquake drove your father abroad from cohabiting with her;
" and time itſelf, which is ſaid to be the ſureſt witneſs, joins
" evidence with Neptune, ſince you was born the tenth month
" after he ſeparated from and had no cohabitation with her."
In this manner they diſputed. But Diopithes, who was a great dealer in oracles, ſupported the claim of Leotychides, and affirmed there was an oracle of Apollo, " which bade them be on
" their guard againſt a halting reign." Lyſander, who favoured Ageſilaus, replied, " That he did not imagine it was the ſenſe
" of the oracle to put them on their guard againſt a King who
" was lame of a foot; but rather, that no perſon ſhould reign
" who was not of the royal blood. For the kingdom would halt
" to all intents and purpoſes, when men ruled the ſtate who
" were not of the race of Hercules." The Spartans, having thus heard the plea of both parties, choſe Ageſilaus for their King.

A conſpiracy at Sparta.

Ageſilaus had not reigned a year, when during his performance of a ſolemn ſacrifice for the public welfare, the ſoothſayer told him, that " the Gods ſhewed him a conſpiracy of the moſt dan-
" gerous kind." Upon his repeating the ſacrifice, he affirmed, that " the victims ſhewed worſe than before." But when he ſacrificed a third time, he ſaid, " It is plainly ſignified to me,
" that we are, Ageſilaus, in the midſt of enemies." They ſacrificed afterwards to the Gods who avert calamities or were guardians of the ſtate; and the victims after ſeveral repetitions at length appearing favorable, they ceaſed. Within five days after the ſacrifices, ſomebody gives the Ephori information of a conſpiracy, and that " Cinadon was the chief director of it." This Cinadon was a very handſome young man, of great ſolidity of mind, but not in the firſt claſs of Spartans. The Ephori queſtioned the informer, " on what grounds the plot was to be car-
" ried on?" He anſwered, that " Cinadon, drawing him aſide

" in the fartheſt part of the *forum*, bade him count the number " of *Spartans*, who were then walking upon it. And I (ſaid he) " having counted the King, and the Ephori, and the ſeniors, " and about forty others, demanded, But why, Cinadon, did " you bid me count them? Reckon theſe *(he replied)* to be ene- " mies, but all others now upon the *forum*, who amount at " leaſt to four thouſand, to be aſſuredly friends." *He added*, that " as they went along the ſtreets, Cinadon pointed ſometimes " at one, and ſometimes at a couple of enemies, but all others " were firm accomplices; and on all the eſtates in the country " belonging to Spartans, the maſter ſingly was an enemy, whilſt " all the people were their own." The Ephori then demanded, " What number of perſons he told him were in the ſecret of " the plot?" He anſwered, that " Cinadon told him, the num- " ber yet let into the deſign by the principal agents was not " large, but were men on whom they could depend. Yet all " agreed that the Helots, the *new-infranchiſed*, thoſe incapaci- " tated by law from being magiſtrates, and the people in the " *neighborhood* of Sparta, were all ripe for a rebellion; ſince, when- " ever any diſcourſe aroſe about the Spartans, not a ſoul amongſt " them could conceal the longing he had to eat them up alive." They aſked him next, " By what methods they were to procure " arms?" He anſwered, that " ſuch as were already in the " ſecret had told him—We ourſelves are already provided;— " and in regard to the multitude, Cinadon had led him to the " ſhops of the mechanics, and ſhewed him many ſwords, many " daggers, many ſpits, many hatchets and axes, and many " ſcithes; adding farther on this occaſion, that all the utenſils " which men employ in agriculture and the working of timber " and ſtone were ſo many weapons, and even the tools uſed in " moſt trades would ſerve the purpoſe, eſpecially againſt enemies " who had no arms at all." Being interrogated again, " In

" what

" what time they were to put the plot in execution?" He ſaid, " he had already received an order to keep in the way."

The Ephori, having finiſhed the examination, were perſuaded he had diſcovered a deep-laid plot, and were terribly alarmed. Yet they ſummoned no meeting on this occaſion even of the leſſer *council*; but aſſembling ſome of the ſenior *Spartans* juſt as they could pick them up, they determined to ſend Cinadon to Aulon, accompanied by a party of the younger *Spartans*, to arreſt and bring away ſome inhabitants of that city and ſome Helots, whoſe names he would find in his *Scytale*. They alſo ordered him to bring away with him a woman, who was reported to be the greateſt beauty in the place, but was thought to debauch all the Lacedæmonians, as well old as young, who frequented Aulon. Cinadon had executed ſome ſuch orders of the Ephori on former occaſions, and readily took the *Scytale* they gave him now, in which were the names of the perſons he was to apprehend. But when he aſked, " What youths he " was to take with him?" " Go, *they ſaid*, and order the ſenior " of the Prefects of youth to ſend ſix or ſeven of his band " along with you, of ſuch as happen to be at hand." They had taken care beforehand, that this Prefect ſhould know whom he was to ſend, and that the perſons ſent ſhould know they were to ſecure Cinadon. They told Cinadon further, " they " would ſend three carriages, that they might not bring away " their priſoners on foot;" concealing from him as much as poſſible, that they only aimed at his ſingle perſon. They would not venture to apprehend him in the city, as they did not know how far the plot might have ſpread, and were deſirous to learn firſt from Cinadon himſelf who were his accomplices, before they would diſcover that any information was given againſt them, in order to prevent their flight. The party along with him were

firſt to ſecure him, and then getting out from him the names of his accomplices, to ſend them in writing in all haſte to the Ephori. Nay, ſo intent were the Ephori on ſecuring the point, that they alſo ordered a troop of horſe to march with this party to Aulon.

But ſo ſoon as Cinadon was ſecured, and an horſeman returned with the names that Cinadon had diſcovered, they inſtantly apprehended Tiſamenus the ſoothſayer and the moſt dangerous perſons amongſt the conſpirators. And when Cinadon was brought to Sparta and examined, he confeſſed the particulars of the plot, and named all the perſons concerned in it. At laſt they aſked him, "With what view he had engaged in ſuch a project?" His reply was, "That I might be inferior to no man "in Sparta." Immediately after this he was tied neck and arms in the wooden collar *, and along with his accomplices was led round the city, being all the way ſcourged with rods and pricked with javelins. And thus they received the puniſhment inflicted by the laws [10].

* Κλοιῳ.

Ageſilaus offers to go and command in Aſia.

After theſe tranſactions, one Herod a Syracuſan, who was along with the maſter of a veſſel in Phœnicia, and ſaw ſeveral Phœnician veſſels arriving from other places, and more of them already manned where he was, and more ſtill fitting out, and heard farther that they were to be compleated to the number of three hundred;——this Herod took his paſſage on board the firſt veſſel that ſailed for Greece, and gave intelligence to the Lacedæmonians, that "the King and Tiſſaphernes were fitting out "ſo great a fleet, but whither deſigned, *he ſaid*, he had not "diſcovered." The Lacedæmonians were all in a flutter, and ſummoned a meeting of the confederates to conſult what was to be done. Lyſander, who reckoned that the Grecians would be far ſuperior at ſea, and remembered the fine retreat of his coun-

[10] Leunclavius's marginal reading, μεν δη της δικης. . .

trymen

trymen who had ſerved in the expedition under Cyrus, perſuades Ageſilaus to engage, if they would aſſign him thirty noble Spartans, two thouſand of ſuch as were newly infranchiſed, and a body of ſix thouſand confederates, to carry the war into Aſia. He had it farther in his intention to accompany Ageſilaus in this expedition, that under his protection he might re-eſtabliſh the forms of government conſiſting of ten perſons, which himſelf had ſet up in the cities, and the Ephori had ſince aboliſhed, who ordered them to return to their primitive models. Ageſilaus having therefore offered to undertake the expedition, the Lacedæmonians, beſide all the reſt of his demands, granted him a ſix month's ſupply of corn. When he had performed his ſacrifices, particularly the ſolemn ones uſual before foreign expeditions, he ſet forwards. He had already by meſſengers circulated his orders to the confederate ſtates, to what place they were to ſend their quota's, and in what number they were to be ready for him. For his own part, he intended to go and ſacrifice at Aulis, as Agamemnon had done when he ſet out againſt Troy. When arrived at Aulis, the *rulers* of Bœotia, who heard he was ſacrificing, ſent thither a party of horſe, who forbade his ſacrificing any more, and threw off from the altar the victims he was offering at the time of their approach. Making loud appeals to heaven, and full of indignation, he went on board his ſhip, and put to ſea. And after reaching Geraſtus, and collecting together as large a number as he could of the troops aſſigned him, he croſſed the ſea at the head of the armament to Epheſus.

On his arrival at Epheſus, he was ſoon accoſted by meſſengers from Tiſſaphernes, who demanded, "What was his buſineſs in Aſia?" He replied, "To ſet the Greek cities in Aſia in as perfect liberty "as our own cities enjoy in Greece." The anſwer of Tiſſaphernes to this was—"If therefore you will come into a "truce, whilſt I ſend up to the King, I think I ſhall get that "point

Year before Chriſt, 395. *His firſt conduct there.*

" point ſettled, ſo that you may go home again at pleaſure." " I would agree to a truce, *ſaid* Ageſilaus, was I not afraid that " you will deceive me. But you ſhall have, *he added*, what " ſecurity you pleaſe from us, that if you ſolicit the point with- " out fraud, we will refrain during the truce from doing any " damage to the country under your government." This point being agreed to, Tiſſaphernes ſwore to Herippidas and Dercyllidas and Megialius, who were ſent to him for this purpoſe, that " without fraud he would procure a peace:" and they in return ſwore to Tiſſaphernes, in the name of Ageſilaus, that " whilſt " Tiſſaphernes was employed in this negotiation, he would " faithfully obſerve the truce." Tiſſaphernes ſwore indeed, but immediately broke his oath. For, inſtead of ſoliciting a peace, he ſent to the King for a number of troops to reinforce the army he already had. But Ageſilaus, though ſenſible of ſuch behavior, moſt ſteddily obſerved the truce.

Whilſt Ageſilaus was thus paſſing his time in a quiet and leiſurely manner at Epheſus, there was high confuſion in all the Greek cities of Aſia, as the democracy, which had prevailed when they were under the Athenians, no longer exiſted, nor the adminiſtration of *ten* perſons, which had been the eſtabliſhment of Lyſander. But, as every body there was acquainted with Lyſander, they applied themſelves to him, requeſting his intereſt with Ageſilaus to get their favorite forms eſtabliſhed. And hence it was, that a prodigious crowd of people was conſtantly attending upon and paying court to Lyſander, ſo that in ſhort Ageſilaus ſeemed only a private perſon, and Lyſander looked like a King. What followed ſhewed indeed that theſe things chagrined Ageſilaus. The reſt of the *thirty Spartans* were ſo filled with envy, that they could not refrain from giving it vent. They told Ageſilaus, that " Lyſander's behavior was quite unjuſtifiable, " ſince he aſſumed a pomp even too high for a King." But a-

ſoon

ſoon as Lyſander began to introduce them to Ageſilaus, he diſmiſſed with a flat refuſal of their petitions all ſuch as he knew were ſtrenuouſly ſupported by Lyſander. And as things were now taking a quite different turn to what Lyſander expected, he ſoon diſcovered the cauſe. And then he no longer ſuffered ſuch a crowd of people to pay attendance upon himſelf, and ingenuouſly owned to ſuch as begged his ſupport, that they would ſucceed the worſe, if he appeared in their favour. He took his diſgrace to heart, and going to Ageſilaus expoſtulated thus—— "Are you then, Ageſilaus, become an artiſt at leſſening your "friends?" "Upon honour I am, *he replied*, when they be- "tray a deſign of appearing greater than myſelf. But I ſhould "bluſh indeed, if I was not as great a proficient in the art of "honouring thoſe, who endeavor to promote my honour." —— "Why then I am convinced, *ſaid* Lyſander, that your "conduct is much eaſier to be juſtified than my own. But for "the future, that I may avoid the diſgrace of having no intereſt "at all in you, and may be no obſtacle to your perſonal glory, "ſend me to ſome remote employ. For where-ever I go, I will "ſpare no pains to ſerve you." He made this propoſal which Ageſilaus approved, and ſends him to Helleſpont. When there, Lyſander having made a diſcovery, that Spithridates the Perſian had ſuffered ſome oppreſſions from Pharnabazus, gets a conference with him, and perſuades him to revolt with his children, with his wealth, and about two hundred horſe. He placed the reſt of his people and his effects in Cyzicus, but ſet out himſelf on the journey, and conducted Spithridates and his ſon to Ageſilaus. Ageſilaus, when he knew the whole affair, was highly pleaſed, and immediately began his inquiries about the country and government that belonged to Pharnabazus.

But when Tiſſaphernes, highly animated by the army that came down to his aſſiſtance from the King, declared war againſt him

him unleſs he evacuated Aſia, the reſt of the confederates and even the Lacedæmonians who were there betrayed great ſigns of dejection, as they judged the force at preſent with Ageſilaus was by no means a match for that of the King. Ageſilaus however, with a countenance exceeding chearful, ordered the embaſſadors to acquaint Tiſſaphernes, that "he had high obligations to him, "ſince by perjuring himſelf he had got the Gods for his ene-"mies, and had made them friends to the Greeks." Immediately after this he iſſued out orders to his ſoldiers to get all things in readineſs to take the field. He gave notice alſo to the cities, by which he muſt of neceſſity paſs in the route towards Caria, to prepare their markets. He ſent farther to the Ionians and Æolians and Helleſpontines to march up their quota's that were to ſerve under him to Epheſus. Tiſſaphernes therefore, both becauſe Ageſilaus had no horſe, and Caria was not a country proper for them, and becauſe he judged him exaſperated perſonally againſt himſelf for having deceived him, actually concluded that he would march into Caria to ruin the place of his reſidence. He therefore ſent away all his infantry into Caria, but led his horſe round into the plains of Mæander, accounting himſelf able with his horſe alone to trample the Grecians under foot before they could reach that part of the country in which cavalry could not act. But Ageſilaus, inſted of taking the route of Caria, took inſtantly one quite contrary, and marched for Phrygia. He reduced the cities on his march, and by an incurſion ſo entirely unexpected he took an infinite quantity of moſt valuable ſpoil.

Hitherto he had ſeen no enemy at all. But when he drew near Daſcylum, the horſe in his van rode up to an eminence, that they might take a view of the country before them. It ſo happened that the horſe of Pharnabazus, commanded by Rathines and Bancæus his baſtard-brother, in number about equal to the Grecians, had been detached by Pharnabazus, and were riding

up

up the ſame eminence that very moment. Thus getting a view of and not diſtant from one another above four *plethra* *, each ſide at firſt made a halt. The Grecian horſe was drawn up four deep, like a body of foot; but the Barbarians had formed their ranks to no more than twelve men in front, but of a very great depth. After this halt, the Barbarians advanced firſt to give the charge. When the engagement was began, whatever Grecian ſtruck an enemy, his ſpear broke off ſhort with the blow: but the Perſians, whoſe weapons were made of leſs brittle materials†, had ſoon ſlain twelve men and two horſes; and ſoon after the Grecians were put to flight. Yet, as Ageſilaus was advancing with the heavy-armed to their relief, the Barbarians retreated in their turn, and one of the noble Perſians is ſlain.

* 400 *feet.*

† Κρανεινα ξυλα εχοντες.

After this engagement between the horſe, when Ageſilaus ſacrificed next day for proceeding forwards, the victims were inauſpicious. This plainly appearing, he turned off and marched down to the ſea-coaſt. Being now convinced, that, unleſs he could procure a ſufficient body of horſe, he ſhould never be able to march down into the plains, he reſolved to procure them, that he might not be obliged to make war like a fugitive. He therefore drew up a liſt of the perſons in all the adjacent cities who could beſt afford to keep horſes. And having promiſed, that whoever contributed towards the cavalry either arms or an approved horſeman ſhould be excuſed from perſonal ſervice, he made them exert themſelves with as much activity as if each was ſeeking out a man to die in his own ſted.

But afterwards, ſo ſoon as it was ſpring, he drew them all in a body to Epheſus. And here reſolving to exerciſe his troops, he propoſed rewards to the companies of heavy-armed which ever appeared in the fineſt condition, and to the ſquadrons of horſe which ſhould perform their duty beſt. He alſo propoſed rewards to the targeteers and archers, to ſuch as ſhould beſt behave in

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their reſpective duties. In conſequence of this, one might have ſeen all the places of exerciſe crowded with perſons at their exerciſe, and the riding-ſchools with horſemen practiſing the manage, the darters alſo and archers exerciſing their parts; in ſhort, he made the whole city of Epheſus a fine ſpectacle indeed. For the market-place was filled with arms of all ſorts and horſes for ſale. The braſiers, and carpenters, and ſmiths, and curriers, and furbiſhers were all buſy in preparing the inſtruments of battle, inſomuch that you would actually have judged that city to be the workhouſe of war. And it inſpirited every ſpectator to ſee, beſide all this, Ageſilaus marching firſt, his ſoldiers following with garlands on their heads, when they came from their exerciſe and went to offer up their garlands to Diana. For where-ever men worſhip the Gods, perfect themſelves in martial exerciſe, and carefully practiſe obedience to their ſuperiors, how is it poſſible that all things there ſhould not be full of the warmeſt hope? But thinking further, that a contempt of the enemy might invigorate his men the more for battle, he ordered the criers to ſell ſuch Barbarians quite naked as were taken by their plundering parties. The ſoldiers therefore ſeeing them with ſkins exceeding white, becauſe they never had uſed themſelves to ſtrip, delicate alſo and plump in body, becauſe they always travelled upon wheels, imagined there was no difference between fighting againſt ſuch men and fighting againſt women.

A whole year was now compleatly come round ſince Ageſilaus ſailed from Greece, ſo that the thirty *Spartans* in commiſſion with Lyſander departed for Sparta, and their ſucceſſors with Herippidas were ready to ſucceed them. To Xenocles one of the number and to another perſon Ageſilaus gave the command of the horſe; to Scythes that of the heavy-armed who were *newly-infranchiſed*; to Herippidas the command of thoſe who had ſerved under Cyrus; and to Migdon the command of the troops belonging to the cities.

And now he gave out, that he would immediately march them by the ſhorteſt route into the ſtrongeſt parts of the country, that from this conſideration, they might beſt prepare their bodies and reſolution too for action. Tiſſaphernes judged indeed, that he gave this out merely from a deſire to deceive him again, but now undoubtedly he would break into Caria. His infantry therefore, as before, he ſent away into Caria, and poſted his horſe in the plain of Mæander. Ageſilaus told no falſhood at all; but, exactly as he had given out, immediately marched for the province of Sardis; and for three days paſſing through a country quite clear of enemies, he got ſubſiſtance in abundance for all his troops. But on the fourth day the enemy's horſe came in ſight, and [11] their commander ordered the officer who took care of the baggage to paſs the river Pactolus and encamp. And then, beholding the followers of the Greeks to be ſtraggling about for plunder, they ſlew many of them. Ageſilaus, perceiving this, ordered the horſe to advance to their relief. On the other ſide, the Perſians, when they ſaw the horſe advancing, gathered cloſe together, and drew up their whole numerous cavalry in order of battle. And here Ageſilaus, knowing that the enemy had no foot at hand, whereas none of his own forces were abſent, thought it a proper opportunity to engage, if poſſible. Having ſacrificed therefore, he immediately led the main body towards the horſe who were drawn up to face him; but he ordered ſome [12] heavy-armed Spartans of the firſt military claſs to march up with the main-body; and bade the targeteers advance at the ſame time running; and then he ſent orders to the horſe to charge the enemy, ſince himſelf and all the army were ready to ſupport them. The Perſians ſtood indeed the charge of his horſe. But when at once every thing terrible was upon them, they were forced to give

[11] The marginal reading of the Paris Edition by Leunclavius.
[12] Marginal reading of Leunclavius.

way; and ſome of them were immediately puſhed into the river, whilſt the reſt fled outright. The Grecians purſue, and are maſters of their camp. And now the targeteers, as it is likely they ſhould, were gone off to plunder. But Ageſilaus, incloſing friend and foe, encamped round about them in a circle. A vaſt quantity of booty was taken by him on this occaſion, which he found to be in value above ſeventy talents *. The camels alſo were taken at this time, which Ageſilaus brought afterwards into Greece.

* 13562 l. 10 s.

Tiſſaphernes put to death.

At the time this battle was fought, Tiſſaphernes happened to be at Sardis; for which reaſon he was accuſed by the Perſians, as one who had betrayed them all to the enemy. But the King of Perſia, conſcious himſelf that the bad ſtate of his affairs was owing entirely to Tiſſaphernes, ſent Tithrauſtes down, and cuts off his head.

When Tithrauſtes had executed this order, he ſends embaſſadors to Ageſilaus, who ſaid —— "The author, Ageſilaus, of the "preſent war between you and us, hath received his puniſhment. "But the King now inſiſts, that you return back to Greece, "and that the cities in Aſia, continuing to govern themſelves by "their own laws, ſhall pay to him the tribute they formerly "paid." Ageſilaus replied, that "he would ſettle nothing "without inſtructions from the magiſtrates of Sparta." Tithrauſtes rejoined, "But till you can know their pleaſure, quit "theſe parts and make war upon Pharnabazus, ſince I myſelf "have amply avenged you on your enemy here." Ageſilaus anſwered, "As I ſhall be ſome time on my march thither, you "muſt pay for the ſupply of my army." Accordingly Tithrauſtes gives him thirty talents †, on receipt of which he proceeded towards Phrygia of Pharnabazus.

† 5812 l. 10 s.

Being now on his march and in the plain beyond Cyme, an expreſs from the magiſtrates of Sparta comes to him with an order, "to take the fleet under his own command, and to appoint "whom

" whom he pleaſed to be admiral of it." The Lacedæmonians acted thus from theſe conſiderations, that if he was commander of both, the land-army would act more firmly becauſe of their union with the fleet, and the fleet would act more firmly by the ſight of the land-army ready to ſupport them whenever it was needful. When Ageſilaus had received this authority, he immediately circulated orders to the cities in the iſlands and on the ſea-coaſt to build triremes, the number to be left to the diſcretion of each city. Accordingly about one hundred and twenty new ones were built, partly at the public determination of thoſe cities, and partly by the zeal of private perſons who ſtudied to oblige him. He then appointed Piſander his wife's brother to be admiral, a man deſirous to ſignalize himſelf and of great natural abilities, but of ſmall experience in naval matters. Piſander accordingly departed to take care of the fleet, whilſt Ageſilaus, continuing his firſt deſign, proceeded in his march againſt Phrygia.

The time to get Agesilaus recalled.

In the mean time Tithrauſtes, who judged it plain that Ageſilaus had a real contempt for the power of his maſter, and had no manner of intention to go out of Aſia, but on the contrary entertained high hopes of demoliſhing the King; — Tithrauſtes, I ſay, after balancing about the meaſures he ſhould take, ſends into Greece Timocrates the Rhodian. He furniſhed him with gold to the value of fifty talents*, and inſtructed him to diſtribute the money amongſt the leading men in the ſeveral ſtates, after procuring from them the ſtrongeſt engagements that they would make war upon the Lacedæmonians. Timocrates, when arrived, diſtributes his gold, at Thebes to Androclides and Iſmenias and Galaxidorus, at Corinth to Timolaus and Polyanthes, at Argos to Cyclon and his faction. The Athenians, even without getting any ſhare of the money, were ready for a war, and judged they ought to be principals in it. The perſons, who had received their ſhares, began the outcry againſt the Lacedæmonians in their own

* 9683 l. 6s.

own ſeveral communities. When they had once raiſed in theſe an hatred againſt the Lacedæmonians, they next drew the principal ſtates of Greece into their ſcheme. But the leading men at Thebes, being well aſſured that unleſs ſomebody began the rupture the Lacedæmonians would never break the peace with their allies, perſuade the Locrians of Opus to levy contributions on a certain diſtrict, about which there was a controverſy between them and the Phocians, judging that upon this provocation the Phocians would break into Locris. They were not deceived; for the Phocians breaking immediately into Locris carried off a booty of many times the value. Androclides therefore and his party ſoon perſuaded the Thebans to aſſiſt the Locrians, ſince the Phocians had actually levied war, not upon a diſtrict that was in diſpute, but on Locris itſelf, that was confeſſedly in friendſhip and alliance with them. And when the Thebans, by way of retaliation, had broke into Phocis and laid the country waſte, the Phocians ſend embaſſadors in all haſte to Lacedæmon, and demanded aſſiſtance, repreſenting that "they had not begun the "war, but had acted againſt the Locrians in ſelf-defence." The Lacedæmonians caught with pleaſure at this pretext to make war upon the Thebans, having long been irritated againſt them for their detention at Decelea of the *tenth* due to Apollo, and for their refuſal to march with them againſt the Piræus. They accuſed them farther of perſuading the Corinthians too not to accompany them on that occaſion. They alſo recalled to remembrance, how they would not permit Ageſilaus to ſacrifice at Aulis, and threw the victims actually ſacrificed from off the altar, and that none of them were ſerving at this time under Ageſilaus in Aſia. They judged the preſent therefore a fine opportunity to march an army againſt them, and put a ſtop to their inſolent behavior; — for matters went well in Aſia under the command of Ageſilaus, and they had no war at preſent upon their hands in Greece.

Greece. Theſe being the general ſentiments of the Lacedæmonians, the Ephori proclaimed a foreign expedition. But firſt they ſent Lyſander to the Phocians, and ordered him to conduct the Phocians with all their ſtrength and the Oeteans and the Heracleots and the Melienſians and Æ nianians to Haliartus. Pauſanias, who was to command the army, agreed to be there on a certain day with the Lacedæmonians and the reſt of the Peloponneſian confederates. Lyſander truly obeyed all his orders; and, what is more, procured the revolt of the Orchomenians from the Thebans. But Pauſanias, after compleating the ſolemn ſacrifices, lingered for a time at Tegea, ſending out the perſons who were to command the confederate-quotas, and waiting the coming up of the troops from the neighboring cities.

When now it was clear to the Thebans that the Lacedæmonians would ſoon march into their country, they ſent embaſſadors to Athens, who ſpoke as follows:

Speech of the Theban embaſſadors at Athens.

" Ye have, Athenians, complaints againſt us, as men who " made propoſals to ruin you, in the cloſe of the late war: but " ye have no manner of reaſon for ſuch complaints. Theſe " propoſals were not iſſued by the people of Thebes; they were " merely the declaration of one ſingle Theban, who aſſiſted " then at the conſultations of the confederates. But when the " Lacedæmonians ſolicited us to march with them againſt the " Piræus, the whole ſtate unanimouſly joined in a refuſal. It " is principally therefore on your account that the Lacedæmo- " nians now are exaſperated againſt us; and it is natural for us " to eſteem it incumbent upon you to aſſiſt our ſtate againſt " them.

" Nay, we have much ſtronger reaſons for inſiſting, than ſo " many of you as were of the *party* in the *City* ſhould march " cheerfully now againſt the Lacedæmonians. For, after ſet- " ting up an *oligarchy* here and throwing *you* into enmity with

" the

" the *people*, hither they marched with a numerous force, pre-
" tending themſelves your confederates, and then delivered *you*
" up to the *people*. So far as Lacedæmonians could do it, *you*
" were utterly undone: It was your own *people* here aſſembled
" that ſaved you.

" We know moreover, Athenians, we know it well, how
" deſirous you are again to recover that empire, of which you
" were formerly poſſeſſed. And what more probable method
" to accompliſh this deſire, than in perſon to ſuccour thoſe
" whom your enemies oppreſs? Thoſe enemies, *it is true*, give
" law to numerous ſtates. But ſuffer not yourſelves to be awed
" by this conſideration, which rather abounds in motives to
" courage and reſolution. Your own recollection will inform
" you, that the number of your enemies was always the greateſt,
" when your rule was moſt enlarged. So long indeed as no
" favorable opportunities offered for revolt, people concealed the
" enmity they bore you; but no ſooner had the Lacedæmonians
" ſet up for leaders, than they openly ſhewed what they thought
" of you. And at preſent would but *we* Thebans and *you*
" Athenians appear together in arms againſt the Lacedæmonians,
" be aſſured that many who hate them will openly declare it.

" Reflect within yourſelves, and you will confeſs the truth
" of what we are alledging. —— What people in Greece conti-
" nues at preſent well affected to them? Have not the Argives
" been from time immemorial their irreconcileable foes? Even the
" Eleans, deprived by them as they now have been of a large ter-
" ritory and its cities, are added to the number of their enemies.
" And why ſhould we mention the Corinthians and Arcadians and
" Achæans? who, ſo long as the war was carrying on againſt
" you, were earneſtly ſolicited by them, and were admitted to
" a ſhare of every hardſhip, of every danger, and of every ex-
" pence; and yet, when the Lacedæmonians had carried all

" their

" their points, in what dominion, what honour, what wealth,
" were they ſuffered to partake? Nay, ſo haughty are they
" grown, that they ſend out their very ſlaves to be governors
" over their friends; and, in the height of their good-fortune,
" have declared themſelves lords over their free confederates.
" Nay farther, it is manifeſt to all, how groſsly they have de-
" luded thoſe very people whom they ſeduced to revolt from
" you, ſince inſted of giving them liberty, they have doubled
" their portion of ſlavery upon them. For they are tyrannized
" over by the governors whom theſe Lacedæmonians ſend them,
" and by the committees of *ten*, which Lyſander hath eſtabliſhed
" in every city. Nay even the Monarch of Aſia, who principally
" enabled them to get the better over you —— what better treat-
" ment doth he now receive, than if he had joined with you to
" war them down?

" Is it not therefore quite reaſonable to imagine, that would
" you but ſet yourſelves at the head of thoſe who are ſo mani-
" feſtly aggrieved, you may again become a much greater people
" than ever you were in former times? For, during the former
" interval of your power, the ſea was the only element in which
" you diſplayed it. But now you will be leaders of all, of us,
" of the Peloponneſians too, and of thoſe who were ſubjected to
" you before, and of the King himſelf poſſeſſed of the ampleſt
" ſhare of power. In regard to us, you yourſelves well know,
" how very valuable confederates we proved to them. But now,
" we want no motive to join you with higher alacrity and more
" effectual ſtrength than we then joined the Lacedæmonians.
" For we ſhall unite our aid on this occaſion, not in behalf of
" the inhabitants of the iſles or the inhabitants of Syracuſe, not
" in behalf of remote people as we did at that time, but in be-
" half of our own ſelves, ſo grievouſly injured as we have been.

" There is one truth more, of which you ought to reſt well-
" aſſured, that the ravenous appetite after power in the Lacedæ-

" monians may much eaſier be demoliſhed than the power you
" once enjoyed. You then were a maritime Power, and could
" awe the moſt reluctant States. The Lacedæmonians, though a
" meer handful of men, are greedily aſſuming power over people
" many times more numerous than and in arms not one jot in-
" ferior to themſelves.

" Theſe conſiderations therefore we lay before you; and reſt
" perfectly convinced, Athenians, that it is our firm perſuaſion,
" we are inviting you now to do greater ſervices to Athens than
" to Thebes."

With theſe words the Theban embaſſador put an end to his diſcourſe.

A very large number of Athenians ſpoke afterwards in their favour, and it was unanimouſly decreed to aid the Thebans. Thraſybulus preſented the *decree* by way of anſwer, in which it was expreſſly recited, that " though the Piræus was not yet re-
" ſtored to a ſtate of defence, they would however run all ha-
" zards to return greater ſervices than they had themſelves re-
" ceived. —— You Thebans, he then added, did not join your
" arms againſt us, but we Athenians will fight along with you
" againſt the Lacedæmonians, in caſe they invade you." The Thebans therefore departing got ready all the means of their defence, and the Athenians were making preparations for their ſuccour.

A war in Greece, in which Pauſanias commands.

The Lacedæmonians loſt no more time, for Pauſanias their King marched into Bœotia at the head of the troops of Sparta and the troops of Peloponneſus; the Corinthians were the only people who did not attend. Lyſander however, at the head of the troops from Phocis and Orchomenus and the adjacent cities, had arrived at Haliartus before Pauſanias. And when arrived, he could not bear to wait inactively till the Lacedæmonian army came up, but with the force he already had he marched up to the walls of the Haliartians. At firſt he perſuaded them to revolt

from the Thebans, and declare themſelves free and independent; but when ſome of the Thebans, who were within the walls, hindered them from making any ſuch declaration, he made an aſſault upon the wall. The Thebans hearing this ſet forward, heavy-armed and horſe, with all ſpeed to its ſuccour. How the fact really was, whether they ſuddenly fell upon Lyſander, or whether aware of their approach he ſlighted them from a confidence of victory, is ſtill uncertain. Thus much only is clear, that a battle was fought under the walls, and a trophy was erected at the gates of Haliartus. And no ſooner was Lyſander ſlain, than his troops fled away to the mountain, and the Thebans followed reſolutely in purſuit. The purſuers were now on the aſcent of the mountain, and had puſhed forwards into the ſtrait and narrow paſs, when the heavy-armed faced ſuddenly about, and poured their javelins with good effect upon them. When two or three of the foremoſt were drop'd, they rolled down great ſtones along the declivity upon the reſt, and kept plying at them with great alacrity, ſo that the Thebans are driven quite down the hill, and more than two hundred of them periſh. This day therefore the Thebans were diſpirited, reckoning they had ſuffered as much as they had made the enemy ſuffer before. However on the morrow, when they heard the Phocians had marched off in the night and the reſt of the confederates were departed to their ſeveral homes, they conceived a much higher opinion of their late ſucceſs. But when again Pauſanias appeared in ſight at the head of the Lacedæmonian army, they thought themſelves once more in very imminent danger, and it was ſaid there was a deep ſilence and much dejection among the troops. Yet when, upon the arrival of the Athenians the day after and their junction with them, Pauſanias came no nearer and no battle enſued, the Thebans began to be much higher in ſpirits than ever. Pauſanias, it is true, had called a council of his general-officers and captains, and demanded their opinions, "whether he ſhould give

Lyſander *killed.*

" the enemy battle, or fetch off Lyſander and thoſe who " were killed with him under truce." For Pauſanias and the other Lacedæmonians who were in authority reaſoned with themſelves, that Lyſander was actually ſlain, that the army under his command was defeated and diſperſed, that the Corinthians had flatly refuſed to join them, and the troops now in the army ſerved plainly againſt their inclinations: The cavalry alſo were taken into their account; that of the enemy was numerous; their own was very ſmall: The dead moreover were lying under the walls of Haliartus; ſo that, ſhould they get a victory, they could not eaſily fetch them off becauſe of the defendants upon the turrets. Upon all theſe conſiderations, they judged it moſt adviſable to demand a truce for fetching off their dead. The Thebans anſwered, that " they would not reſtore the dead, unleſs " the enemy evacuated the country." They received this condition with pleaſure, and fetching off their dead marched out of Bœotia. But after ſuch things had paſſed, the Lacedæmonians march away with minds ſadly dejected, and the Thebans with all the marks of inſolence. If any of the enemy ſtraggled the leaſt into the incloſures, they drove them again with blows into the high road.

Pauſanias flies from Sparta.

In this manner the expedition of the Lacedæmonians was brought to a concluſion. Pauſanias however, upon his return to Sparta, was ſummoned to a trial for his life. He was accuſed in form, for not marching up to Haliartus ſo ſoon as Lyſander tho' they had jointly agreed on a day for their junction, for demanding a truce to fetch off the dead when he ought to have endeavored to recover them by a battle, and for letting the *people* of Athens eſcape him formerly when he had got them faſt in the Piræus. Upon the whole, as he did not appear at his trial, he was condemned to die. He fled indeed to Tegea, and died there of ſickneſs.

Theſe things were done in Greece.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

The AFFAIRS OF GREECE

By XENOPHON.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

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THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BOOK IV.

Proceedings of Ageſilaus *in* Aſia.

AGESILAUS, who about autumn reached the Phrygia of Pharnabazus, put the country to fire and ſword, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the cities either by ſiege or voluntary ſurrender. But Spithridates telling him that "if he would go "along with him into Paphlagonia, he would perſuade the King "of the Paphlagonians to a conference with him and make him "his confederate," he readily went with him, having long been deſirous to procure the revolt of this nation from the King. And when he was arrived in Paphlagonia, Cotys came to him and agreed to a confederacy; for he had already refuſed to obey a ſummons ſent him by the King. And, at the perſuaſion of Spithridates, he left with Ageſilaus a thouſand horſe and two thouſand targeteers.

Ageſilaus,

Ageſilaus, eſteeming himſelf highly obliged to Spithridates for this good ſervice, ſaid to him, "Tell me, Spithridates, "would not you give your daughter to Cotys?" "With much "more pleaſure, *he replied*, than Cotys would receive her from "me, an exile as I am, whilſt he is a mighty King and of large "dominions." This was all that was ſaid at that time about the match. But when Cotys was about departing, he waited upon Ageſilaus to take his leave. The thirty Spartans were preſent; Spithridates had purpoſely been ſent out of the way; when Ageſilaus began thus to open the affair, "Tell me, Cotys, (ſaid he) "is Spithridates a man of noble birth?" He replied, "No "Perſian is more nobly born." "You have ſeen his ſon (ſaid "he), who is a very handſome youth?" "Beyond all doubt "he is; I ſupped laſt night in his company." "They tell me "he hath a daughter, who is much handſomer." "Oh hea-"ven! (replied Cotys) ſhe is a Beauty indeed." "Cotys, (ſaid "he) you are now my friend; I regard you as ſuch, and muſt "adviſe you to marry this Lady. She is exceedingly beautiful, "than which what can be ſweeter to a man? She is the daughter "of a man of the higheſt nobility and ſo extenſive a power, that "in return to the wrongs Pharnabazus hath done him, he hath "taken ſuch ample revenge, as to force him to be a fugitive "from all his dominions, as yourſelf can witneſs. And reſt "convinced, that as he knows how to avenge himſelf upon an "enemy, ſo he knows as well how to ſerve his friend. And "be farther aſſured, that if this match be compleated, you not "only gain a Relation in Spithridates, but in me alſo and all "the Lacedæmonians, and conſequently (as we are the head of "Greece) in all Greece itſelf. Nay, in caſe you comply, what "man can ever marry with ſo much pomp as yourſelf? What "Bride can ever be conducted home with ſo many horſemen, "ſo many targeteers, and ſo many heavy-armed, as ſhall conduct

"your

" yours home to you?" Here Cotys demanded, Whether he made this propoſal with the privity of Spithridates? " I call the " Gods to witneſs (ſaid he) that he gave me no orders to mention " it to you. But I can ſay for myſelf, that though I rejoice above " meaſure when I puniſh an enemy, yet methinks I receive " much more abundant pleaſure, when I find out any good for " my friends." " Why therefore (replied Cotys) did you not " aſk him, whether he approves the match?" " Go you there, " Herippidas (ſaid Ageſilaus), and perſuade him to give us his " conſent." Herippidas and his collegues roſe up and went on their commiſſion. But as their ſtay was long, " Are you willing, " Cotys, (ſaid Ageſilaus) that we ſend for him ourſelves?" He replied, " With all my heart; for I am convinced, you have " more influence over him than all the reſt of mankind." And upon this Ageſilaus ſent for Spithridates and the others. On their approach, Herippidas ſaid, " What need, Ageſilaus, to repeat " to you all that hath paſſed between us? For in ſhort Spithri- " dates ſays he will conſent with pleaſure to whatever you pleaſe " to propoſe." " It is therefore my pleaſure (ſaid Ageſilaus) " that you Spithridates give your daughter to Cotys, and that " you Cotys accept her, and heaven bleſs the match! We cannot " indeed before ſpring bring the Lady home by land." Cotys cried out, " But by heaven, Ageſilaus, if you are willing, ſhe " may be ſent immediately by ſea." And now, having given their hands to one another to ratify the contract, they diſmiſſed Cotys. Ageſilaus, as he knew his eagerneſs, without loſs of time commanded a trireme to be manned, and ordered Callias the Lacedæmonian to carry the Lady to him.

In the mean time he marched himſelf to Dascylium, where was the palace of Pharnabazus, ſurrounded with a number of villages, all of them large and abundantly ſtored with the neceſſaries of life. There was excellent hunting, both in the parks

that were paled about and in the open fields. A river, full of all ſorts of fiſh, flowed round the whole ſpot of ground; and birds were every where to be found for thoſe who could fowl. It was here that Ageſilaus paſſed the winter, having ſupplies at hand for his army, or fetching them in by his foraging parties. But as once the ſoldiers were fetching in neceſſaries in a very careleſs and unguarded manner, ſince hitherto they had met with no interruption, Pharnabazus, who had with him two chariots armed with ſcythes and about four hundred horſe, fell ſuddenly amongſt them as they were diſperſed about the plains. The Grecians, when they ſaw him riding up, ran together in a body to the number of ſeven hundred. He loſt no time, but ſetting his chariots in the front and poſting himſelf behind with his horſe, ordered them to drive full upon the enemy. No ſooner was that body broken by the fury of the chariots than his horſemen inſtantly demoliſhed about one hundred of the Greeks. The reſt fled away to Ageſilaus, for he was near at hand with the heavy-armed.

The third or fourth day after this, Spithridates diſcovers that Pharnabazus was incamped at Cauë, a large village about an

* *About ſixteen miles.*

* hundred and ſixty *ſtadia* off, and ſends this intelligence immediately to Herippidas. Herippidas, always eager to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome grand exploit, requeſts of Ageſilaus two thouſand horſe, an equal number of targeteers, the horſemen farther belonging to Spithridates and the Paphlagonians, and ſo many of the Greeks as he could perſuade to go with him. Ageſilaus having complied with his requeſt, he began his ſacrifices; and the victims appearing favourable in the evening, he ſacrificed no more. He then iſſued his orders for the troops to be ready after ſupper in the front of the camp. It was now dark, and half the number were not come out; but reflecting, that if he gave up the affair, the reſt of the *Thirty* would ſadly ridicule him, he marched

away

away with what force he had got. And falling in by break of day upon the camp of Pharnabazus, many of the Myſians, who were then upon the guard, were ſlain; the enemy took to their heels, the camp is taken, with a great quantity of plate and the whole field-equipage of Pharnabazus, with the addition of all the baggage and the carriages with the beaſts that drew them. For as Pharnabazus was in conſtant fear of ſtaying too long in a place, leſt he ſhould be ſurrounded and blocked up, Scythian-like he was for ever changing his ground and moſt cautiouſly concealing his encampments. But when the Paphlagonians and Spithridates brought in the booty they had taken, Herippidas, who had poſted his officers for the purpoſe, took every thing away from Spithridates and the Paphlagonians, in order to enlarge the booty he himſelf ſhould deliver in to the commiſſioners of ſale. Treated in this manner, they could not brook it; but, as men who had been injured and diſgraced, they packed up their baggage and went off by night to Sardis, to offer their ſervice to Ariæus, confident of a good reception from him, as he too had revolted from and was making war upon the King. Ageſilaus took nothing to heart during this expedition, ſo much as this deſertion of Spithridates, and Megabyzus, and the Paphlagonians.

A remarkable act of race.

But there was one Apollophanes of Cyzicus, who had an hoſpitable connexion of long ſtanding with Pharnabazus, and at this time had the ſame connexion with Ageſilaus. This man therefore told Ageſilaus, that he thought he could bring Pharnabazus to a conference with him about a peace. And when Ageſilaus liſtening to him pledged his right-hand and granted a truce, he ſoon brought Pharnabazus to the place agreed on. Ageſilaus truly and his thirty *Spartans* were lying down upon the graſs, and waiting for him. At length Pharnabazus appeared, dreſſed up in a moſt ſumptuous attire. His ſervants ſpread the carpets, on which the Perſians ſeat themſelves ſoftly down,

before Pharnabazus, who ſeeing the mean figure that Ageſilaus made, became aſhamed to indulge himſelf in his uſual manner; in his finery therefore he threw himſelf down on the bare ground. In the firſt place, they gave one another a ſhort verbal greeting. Pharnabazus then offering his right hand, Ageſilaus in return held out his own. This done, Pharnabazus thus began the conference, for he was the elder man.

" To you, Ageſilaus, and to all ye Lacedæmonians here " preſent, I addreſs myſelf. I was a firm friend and confederate " to you, when you warred with the Athenians. I furniſhed you " with money, and at ſea I ſtrengthened your fleet. But by " land, I fought on horſeback in company with you, and drove " your enemies into the ſea. And no one perſon amongſt you " can upbraid me with ever acting a double part with you, as " Tiſſaphernes did, either in word or deed. Such I have been " towards you, and ſuch treatment in return I have received " from you, that in all my dominions at preſent I cannot get " one meal's meat, unleſs like a dog I pick up the ſcraps you " have left behind you. As to all the fine houſes and the parks " well ſtocked with cattle and with timber that my father " left me, and which formerly rejoiced my heart, I ſee them all " deſtroyed by fire and ſword. I cannot think theſe proceedings " to be either juſt or pious; but I beg to learn from you, whe- " ther ſuch ſhould be the actions of men who know how to be " grateful?"

In this manner Pharnabazus ſpoke. The thirty *Spartans* to a man were quite out of countenance, and kept a dead ſilence. But after ſome pauſe Ageſilaus replied as follows:

" I imagine, Pharnabazus, you cannot be ignorant, that in " the cities of Greece it is uſual for men to connect themſelves " together by the ties of hoſpitality. But yet thoſe very perſons, " when the ſtates of which they are members are at war, adhere to

" their own country, and make war on their hoſpitable friends ;
" nay ſometimes it happens, that in the field they kill one an-
" other. In like manner, we are now at war with your King,
" and are obliged to execute all hoſtilities againſt whatever
" belongs to him. In regard to yourſelf, there is nothing we
" ſo much deſire as to have you for our friend ; but even I my-
" ſelf would ſcorn to adviſe you to make a bare exchange, and
" merely to take us for your maſters inſted of the King. But
" you have it in your power by joining with us to live hence-
" forth in ample enjoyment of all that belongs to you, without
" adoring a fellow-creature or acknowledging any maſter at all.
" For my own part, I reckon freedom to be of greater value
" than all the riches in the world. And yet I am far from in-
" viting you to be free and at the ſame time poor ; but, by ac-
" cepting our ſervice as confederates, to enlarge for the future
" not the dominions of the King but your own, and oblige
" thoſe who are now your fellow-ſlaves to be ſubjects to yourſelf.
" And if at one and the ſame time you become both free and
" rich, what more will you need to make you compleatly
" happy ?"

" I ſhall therefore tell you frankly," ſaid Pharnabazus, " what
" it is I intend to do."

" Spoken like a man of honour."

" It is my full reſolution," Pharnabazus went on, " in caſe
" the King ſends another perſon to take my place and lord it
" over me, to be a friend and ally to you. But then, in caſe
" he continues me in the command, I ſhall by the laws of ho-
" nour be bound and am determined, I declare it before you all,
" to make war upon you to the utmoſt of my power."

Ageſilaus, hearing this, caught him by the hand, and ſaid :

" I wiſh, moſt generous of men, that you were a friend to
" us. But of one thing you may reſt aſſured, I will march out

" of

" of your country as faſt as I can; and for the time to come, ſo " long as the war continues, whilſt we have another perſon to " attack, we will give no moleſtation to Thee or Thine."

Theſe words being ſpoken, they ended the conference; and Pharnabazus, mounting on horſeback, rode away. But his ſon by Parapite, a handſome youth, lingered behind, and running up to him cried out —— " O Ageſilaus! I take thee for my " hoſpitable friend." " I accept you as ſuch," he replied. " Remember me therefore:" ſaid the youth, and immediately gave the javelin in his hand, a very fine one it was, to Ageſilaus. He received it, and taking off the trappings from the horſe of Idæus the painter, he gave him them in return. The youth, now leaping upon his horſe, rode after his father. And afterwards, when, during the abſence of Pharnabazus, another brother took away his provinces from this ſon by Parapite and drove him into exile, Ageſilaus ſhewed him all poſſible kindneſs; and particularly, exerted himſelf ſo much in the favour of an Athenian the ſon of Evalces who was loved by this youth, that he got him admittance into the Stadium at Olympia, though he was too tall for the reſt of the lads.

Ageſilaus however, purſuant to his promiſe, marched immediately out of the territory of Pharnabazus, and the ſpring by this time was drawing on. But when he was arrived in the plains of Thebe, he encamped near the temple of Aſtyrinian Diana, and there collected from all quarters a very large reinforcement to his army. He was preparing now to penetrate as far as poſſible into the country, judging, that whatever nations he ſhould leave behind him would all without exception revolt from the King. Such at this time were the employments of Ageſilaus.

Ageſilaus is recalled.

But the Lacedæmonians, when once convinced that money was come over into Greece, and that the greateſt ſtates were caballing

balling together for war, thought themſelves in imminent danger, and judged it neceſſary to take the field. Accordingly they ſet about their preparations, and without loſs of time diſpatch Epicydides to Ageſilaus. He, on his arrival, reported to him the preſent ſituation of Greece, and that "the State commands him "with his utmoſt ſpeed to ſuccour his country." Ageſilaus, when he heard this, was ſadly chagrined, recollecting of what honours and what hopes he was going to be deprived[1]! Calling however the confederates together, he communicated to them the orders he had received from Sparta, and told them "he was "indiſpenſably obliged to ſuccour his country. If affairs turn "out well at home, you may depend upon it, my Friends and "Confederates, I will not forget you, but will be here again "amongſt you to accompliſh all your wiſhes." At hearing him talk thus many tears were ſhed; and it was unanimouſly reſolved "to accompany Ageſilaus to the aid of Sparta, and if affairs "turned out well in Greece to reconduct him back into Aſia." And in fact they were getting all things in readineſs to bear him company.

Ageſilaus left Euxenus behind to command in Aſia, and aſſigned him no leſs than four thouſand men for garriſons, that he might be enabled to keep the cities faſt in their obedience. But obſerving that the ſoldiers were much more inclined to ſtay where they were than to march againſt Grecians, and yet willing to take as many as poſſible and the beſt of them too along with him,

[1] According to Plutarch, he immediately wrote to the Ephori as followeth: "Ageſilaus to the Ephori Greeting. We "have ſubdued a large part of Aſia, have "driven the Barbarians before us, and "have taken a great quantity of arms in "Ionia. But ſince you order my return "by a day prefixed, I follow the letter, "and ſhall almoſt arrive before it. For "I am in this command not for myſelf "but for my country and allies. And "then a commander commandeth in the "rightful manner, when he is ſubmiſſive "to the laws and the Ephori, or whatever "magiſtrates are ſupreme in his coun-"try." Plutarch's *Laconic Apophthegms*.

He

he propoſed to give prizes to the city which ſent in the choiceſt body of men, to the commanders of hired troops who attended the expedition with their party moſt compleatly armed, the ſame in regard to the heavy-armed and the archers and the targeteers. He alſo declared to the commanders of horſe, that he would give prizes to ſuch of them as brought in their ſquadron beſt mounted and beſt accoutred. He ſaid the deciſion ſhould be made in the Cherſoneſus, ſo ſoon as they had paſſed over from Aſia into Europe, that all of them might be well convinced, that they who ſerved in this expedition muſt needs undergo a very accurate review. The prizes were chiefly arms of the moſt beautiful make, as well for heavy-armed as horſemen. There were alſo crowns of gold. The value of them upon the whole amounted to not leſs than four talents *. By ſubmitting in truth to ſuch an expence, arms of the greateſt value were provided for this expedition. And ſo ſoon as he had croſſed the Helleſpont, the judges were appointed; of the Lacedæmonians, Menaſcus and Heripidas and Orſippus; of the confederates, one of every city. And Ageſilaus, after he had finiſhed the diſtribution of the prizes, began his march, and took the ſame road as Xerxes took formerly when he invaded Greece.

* 775 *l.*

War in Greece.

In the mean time the Ephori proclaimed a foreign expedition; and, as Ageſipolis was yet a minor, the State ordered Ariſtodemus, who was a Relation and Guardian to the young King, to command the army. When the Lacedæmonians had taken the field, the enemy, who were now gathered in a body, aſſembled together in conſultation how with the beſt advantage to bring on a battle. Timolaus of Corinth on this occaſion ſaid thus:

Speech of Timolaus.

" It is my opinion, Confederates, that the courſe of the Lacedæmonian affairs very much reſembles the courſe of rivers. " For rivers near their fources are never large, and are eaſy to " be paſſed. But then the farther they run, other rivers, by

" having

" having emptied themſelves into them, increaſe the depth and
" impetuoſity of the current. It is juſt ſo with the Lacedæmo-
" nians. When they firſt come out into the field, they are
" alone; but taking in on their route the other States, their
" numbers are enlarged, and they are harder to be reſiſted. I
" ſee again, that ſuch as have a mind to deſtroy waſps, in caſe
" they attempt to hurt them when they are come out of their
" neſt, are grievouſly ſtung for their pains; but if they fire
" them when they are all within their neſt, they ſuffer no harm,
" and demoliſh the waſps. It is therefore my judgment, that
" we ſhould reflect on theſe points, and fight the Lacedæmonians
" in Sparta itſelf, which would indeed be beſt; but if that can-
" not be, as near to Sparta as poſſible."

As Timolaus was judged to adviſe them well, they unanimouſly reſolved to follow his advice. But whilſt they were ſettling the points of command and agreeing together in what depth to draw up the whole of their army, leſt if the ſeveral States drew up their files too deep the enemy might have it in their power to ſurround them —— whilſt, I ſay, they were ſettling theſe points, the Lacedæmonians, who had been joined by the Tegeans and Mantineans, were advancing along the coaſt. The enemy marching about the ſame time, the Corinthians and all on their ſide were now at Nemea, and the Lacedæmonians and confederates at Sicyon. As the latter had forced their way by the paſs of Epiœcæa, the light-armed of the enemy had at firſt terribly annoyed them, by darting and ſhooting at them from the eminences; but when they came down again to the ſea, they continued their march along the plains, putting the country to fire and ſword. The enemy at length drew near and encamped, having a rivulet in their front. The Lacedæmonians ſtill advancing were now but * ten *ſtadia* diſtant from the enemy; halting therefore, and encamping, they remained quiet. And I will now reckon up the numbers on either ſide.

* *Ab. a mile.*

T There

Battle of Sicyon.

There were now aſſembled, of the Lacedæmonians, to the amount of ſix thouſand heavy-armed; of the Eleans and Triphyllians and Acrorians and Laſionians nearly three thouſand; fifteen hundred of the Sicyonians; and the number of Epidaurians and Trazenians and Hermionians and Halienſians was not leſs than three thouſand. Beſide theſe, there were about ſix hundred horſe belonging to the Lacedæmonians, accompanied by about three hundred Cretan archers. The ſlingers of the Marganeans and Ledrinians and Amphidolians were not fewer than four hundred. The Phliaſians indeed had not joined them; for they excuſed themſelves by alledging a truce. This was the force on the ſide of the Lacedæmonians.—— On the ſide of the enemy were now aſſembled, of the Athenians, ſix thouſand heavy-armed; the Argives were ſaid to amount to ſeven thouſand; the Bœotians, ſince the Orchomenians were not come up, were about five thouſand; the Corinthians were three thouſand; and from the whole iſle of Eubœa there were not fewer than three thouſand. Such was the amount of their heavy-armed. The horſe of the Bœotians, as the Orchomenians were not come up, were eight hundred; of the Athenians, ſix hundred; of the Chalcideans of Eubœa, an hundred; of the Locrians of Opus, fifty. The light-armed, added to thoſe belonging to the Corinthians, were very numerous indeed, for the Locrians of Ozolæ and the Melienſians and the Acarnanians were with them.—— Such was the force on either ſide.

The Bœotians, ſo long as they were on the left wing, were in no hurry at all for a battle. But ſo ſoon as the Athenians were poſted over-againſt the Lacedæmonians, and they themſelves took poſt on the right where they faced the Achæans, they immediately declared that the victims were auſpicious, and proclaimed that all ſhould be ready for a battle. But neglecting, in the firſt place, the rule of drawing up by ſixteens, they formed their battalion

talion exceeding deep; and farther, ſtill kept creeping forwards to the right, in order to over-ſtretch the enemy's wing. The Athenians, that they might not be ſeparated from the reſt of the army, followed their motion, though ſenſible at the ſame time how great a riſk they ran of being quite ſurrounded.

So far the Lacedæmonians had no perception at all of the enemy's approach, for the ground was covered over with ſhrubs. But when the pæan began, they knew what was doing. They inſtantly iſſued out orders for the whole army to prepare for battle. So ſoon as they were formed, the commanders of the auxiliary bodies injoined them to follow their leaders in the order they had now placed them. The Lacedæmonians kept inclining towards the right, and thus they far over-ſtretched the enemy's wing, ſo that only ſix regiments of the Athenians faced the Lacedæmonians whilſt four of them were over-againſt the Tegeans. When they were not above a *ſtadium* aſunder, the Lacedæmonians, after ſacrificing in obedience to their laws a ſhe-goat to the Goddeſs of the chace, led on towards the enemy, bending circularly the part of their line that over-ſtretched to ſurround the enemy. But when the battle was joined, all the confederates on the Lacedæmonian ſide were defeated by their antagoniſts, though the Pellenians, who faced the Theſpians, maintained the fight ſome time, and ſome of both ſides periſhed on the ſpot. The Lacedæmonians themſelves beat all the Athenians whom they charged, and, ſurrounding them with the part of their line that over-ſtretched, ſlew numbers of them, and ſtill, as they ſuffered nothing from the enemy, kept puſhing forwards in their regular array. It was thus that they clearly paſſed the four Athenian regiments till they returned from the purſuit; by which means thoſe Athenians ſaved their lives, excepting ſome few who in the charge were ſlain by the Tegeans. The Lacedæmonians, farther, met the Argives full in their retreat; and the firſt general-officer

was going to fall in full upon their front; when ſomebody is ſaid to have roared out aloud "to let the firſt of them paſs by." This was permitted; and then, running upon their flank and wounding them on their unarmed ſides, they ſlew many of them. They alſo fell in with and attacked the Corinthians in their retreat. The Lacedæmonians farther fall in with ſome of the Thebans retreating from their purſuit, and ſlew a great number of them. Theſe things being done, the vanquiſhed fled at firſt to the walls; but afterwards, the Corinthians ſetting the example, they poſted themſelves again in their former camp. The Lacedæmonians, on the other ſide, repairing to the ſpot of ground where they firſt charged the enemy, erected the trophy. And this is an exact account of the battle.

Forward of Ageſilaus.

Ageſilaus from Aſia was marching forwards with all expedition. He was now at Amphipolis, when Dercyllidas meets him with the news, that "the Lacedæmonians have gained a victory, with "the loſs only of eight of their own citizens, but a vaſt ſlaughter of the enemy;" he added at the ſame time that "no ſmall "number of the confederates were ſlain." Ageſilaus put this queſtion to him, "Would it not be proper, think you, Dercyl-"lidas, to communicate the news of this victory without loſs "of time to the cities, which have ſent their troops hither under "my orders?" Dercyllidas anſwered, that "the hearing of it "muſt in all probability raiſe their ſpirits." "You then can "beſt report it, becauſe you yourſelf were preſent at the action." He was highly delighted at hearing this. All his life long he had been very fond of going abroad. He ſaid therefore, "Do you "order me to go?" "I do, ſaid he, and injoin you to tell "them farther, that if affairs turn out well in Greece, we will "be with them again according to promiſe." Dercyllidas immediately continued his journey for the Helleſpont, whilſt Ageſilaus, having paſſed through Macedonia, arrived in Theſſaly.

But

But now the Lariſſeans and Cranonians and Scotuſians and Pharſalians confederate with the Bœotians, and all the Theſſalians, ſuch excepted as were then under ſentence of exile, purſued and gave him moleſtation. At that juncture he was leading his army in the long march, with half his cavalry in the van and the other half in the rear. But becauſe the Theſſalians by harraſſing thoſe in the rear retarded the march, he ſends off the cavalry in the van, except his own body-guard, to ſtrengthen the rear. When both ſides were now drawn up to face one another, the Theſſalians thinking it by no means adviſable to fight on horſeback againſt heavy-armed, wheel'd about and retreated in a leiſurely manner, and the heavy-armed too eagerly and rathly purſued them. Ageſilaus perceiving bad conduct on both ſides, ſends off the fineſt body of horſe that was his own guard, with orders for the others to purſue, and themſelves to do the ſame with their utmoſt ſpeed, and not give the enemy time to face about. The Theſſalians no ſooner ſaw them riding down upon them beyond their expectation, than ſome of them fled outright, ſome faced about, and ſome in the very endeavor to face, as they had the enemy on their flanks, were taken priſoners. Polycharmus the Pharſalian indeed, a commander in the horſe, faced about, and fighting at the head of his own troop is ſlain. But ſo ſoon as he had drop'd, a moſt dreadful flight enſued amongſt the Theſſalians, in which numbers were ſlain, numbers were taken alive, and none ſtop'd their flight till they were got on the mountain Narthacium. And then Ageſilaus ſet up a trophy between Pras and Narthacium. There too he halted, highly delighted with this day's work, in which with cavalry of his own creation he had vanquiſhed thoſe who reckoned themſelves the beſt horſemen in the world. The next day, having croſſed the Achaic mountains of Phthia, he marched through a friendly country till he reached the frontiers of Bœotia. But juſt as he was entering

Bœotia,

Bœotia, the ſun appeared in the form of the creſcent of the moon, and news was received, that the Lacedæmonians were beaten at ſea, and their admiral Piſander killed. It was alſo told him, in what manner the battle had been fought.

Sea fight off Cnidus.

That near Cnidus the fleets had born down upon one another: that Pharnabazus, who was admiral on the ſide of the enemy, was in the Phœnician fleet, and Conon, who commanded the Grecian ſquadron, had drawn up his ſhips in the van: but when Piſander had formed his line of battle, his ſhips appeared much inferior in number to the Greeks under Conon; upon which the confederates in the left wing immediately took to flight, whilſt Piſander ruſhing in amongſt the enemy with his own veſſel well armed with beaks, was driven on ſhore: that the other perſons of the fleet, who were driven on ſhore, abandoned their ſhips and fled ſafely off to Cnidus, but Piſander continuing to fight from his decks was killed.

Ageſilaus at firſt was exceedingly mortified at this piece of news; but he ſoon recollected, that the diſpoſition of the bulk of his army was ſuch, that they would readily take a ſhare in all joyful occurrences, and there was no neceſſity to communicate to them ſuch things as were oppoſite to their wiſhes. Hereupon he aſſumed another countenance, and gave out that "Piſander in-" deed had loſt his life, but however had gained a victory at ſea." He had no ſooner publiſhed this than he ſacrificed oxen for the good tidings received, and ſent round to ſeveral perſons a ſhare of the victims. A ſkirmiſh immediately enſued with the enemy, in which the ſoldiers of Ageſilaus got the better upon the ſtrength of the report, that the Lacedæmonians were victorious at ſea.

There were now in the field againſt Ageſilaus the Bœotians, the Athenians, the Argives, the Corinthians, the Ænianians, the Eubœans, and both the Locrians. He had with him one whole brigade of Lacedæmonians that joined him from Corinth,

and the half of another brigade from Orchomenus. He had, farther, the newly infranchiſed citizens of Sparta who had been with him in Aſia; he had alſo the auxiliary body commanded by Herippidas. The reſt were the quotas of aid from the Grecian cities in Aſia, and from the Grecian cities in Europe which he had taken up on his march back. The heavy-armed from Orchomenus and Phocis were all the acceſſion he had gained from the adjacent parts. The targeteers of Ageſilaus were much ſuperior in number; the number of the horſe was nearly equal on both ſides. Such was the force of either army. And I will now give an exact account of the battle, for ſuch another hath not been fought in our days [2].

Battle of Coronea.

There were now facing one another in the plains of Coronea, the army under Ageſilaus from the Cephiſſus, but the army along with the Thebans from Helicon. Ageſilaus had the right of his own army, but the Orchomenians were poſted in the extremity of his left. The Thebans, on the other ſide, ſtood on the right, but the Argives had the left. During the approach, there was a deep ſilence on both ſides. When they were about the diſtance of a * *ſtadium* from one another, the Thebans having ſet up a ſhout came running to the charge. But when there was no more than three † *plethra* of ground between them, the auxiliaries under the command of Herrippidas ſtarted out before the main battle of Ageſilaus to receive them, and were accompanied by the Ionians and Æolians and Helleſpontines. All theſe were now running together in one body to the charge, and coming to the point of ſpear broke the body of enemies they encountered. The Argives alſo were not able to ſtand before the body under Ageſilaus, but fled towards Helicon. And here ſome of the auxiliaries were already putting the garland on the head of Ageſilaus.

* *About one-tenth of a mile.*

† *300 feet.*

[2] Xenophon himſelf was at this battle ſerving under Ageſilaus. See the *Anabaſis*, l. v.

But

But a meſſage is brought him, that the Thebans having cut to pieces the Orchomenians were amongſt the baggage; upon which he immediately put the main body in countermarch, and led them towards the Thebans. But the Thebans no ſooner perceived that their confederates were fled to Helicon, than deſigning to ſlip away and join them, they were briſkly marching off in firm and cloſe array. On this occaſion it may be ſaid beyond all diſpute, that Ageſilaus acted with the utmoſt bravery; he did not however prefer the ſecureſt method. For when it was in his power to let thoſe who were ſheering off paſs by, and then by a cloſe purſuit to defeat their rear, he did it not, but full in their front he daſhed againſt the Thebans. Here, thruſting ſhield againſt ſhield, they were puſhing, were fighting, were ſlaying, were dying. At length ſome of the Thebans ſlip off to Helicon, and many of them retreating back were ſlain. When thus the victory remained with Ageſilaus, and he himſelf was brought back wounded to the main body, ſome horſemen riding up to him acquaint him, that about eighty of the enemy with their arms are under the the temple, and demanded how they muſt act. He, tho' ſorely wounded in many parts of his body, forgot not however the duties of religion, but ordered that they might be permitted to depart where they pleaſed, and forbade all kind of inſult. And then (for it was already evening) they took their ſupper and their repoſe. But early next morning he ordered Gylis a general-officer to draw up the army and ſet up a trophy, all of them to be crowned with garlands in honour of the God, and all the muſic of the army to play. Theſe things therefore they did.

The Thebans now ſent heralds, deſiring a truce to fetch off and inter their ſlain. A truce accordingly is granted; and Ageſilaus repairing to Delphi offered the tenth of his ſpoils to the God, in value not leſs than an hundred talents *. But Gylis a general-officer, taking the command of the army, marched them off

* 19,444 l. 15 s.

off into Phocis, and from thence he made an incurſion into Locris. All the next day the ſoldiers were carrying away the moveables and corn from the villages; but when evening was come, as the Lacedæmonians marched off in the rear, the Locrians were cloſe at their heels, pouring in their javelins and darts upon them. Yet when the Lacedæmonians, by facing about and purſuing them, deſtroy ſome of the enemy, they gave over following them in the rear, but kept galling them from the eminences on the right. The Lacedæmonians then endeavored to gain the aſcent, but as it grew quite dark, they tumbled in their retreat becauſe of the unevenneſs of the ground, ſome too becauſe they could ſee nothing before them, and ſome were ſtruck down by the weapons of the enemy. Gylis the general-officer and moſt of the ſoldiers about him and in all eighteen Spartans loſe their lives on this occaſion, ſome being killed with ſtones and ſome with other weapons. And had not thoſe from the camp marched up after ſupper to their relief, the whole party was in great danger of periſhing. After this, the reſt of the army was diſmiſſed to their ſeveral cities, and Ageſilaus went by ſea to Sparta.

Year before Chriſt, 393. *A maſſacre at Corinth.*

The war, after this, was carried on by the Athenians and Bœotians and Argives and confederates, who took the field from Corinth, againſt the Lacedæmonians and their confederates from Sicyon. But the Corinthians, perceiving that the conſequence of this was the entire devaſtation of their own lands and a conſtant deſtruction of their people from the nearneſs of the enemy, whilſt the reſt of the confederates were enjoying peace at home and duly reaping the productions of their ſoil,——the greateſt part of them and the beſt men amongſt them grew deſirous of peace, and laboured together to bring others into the ſame perſuaſion. But the Argives and Bœotians and Athenians and ſuch of the Corinthians, as had ſhared the King's money and were principal authors of the war, ſaw plainly, that, unleſs they could

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rid themſelves of ſuch as were bent on peace, the city of Corinth would fall under a Lacedæmonian influence, and therefore endeavored to ſecure their point by a maſſacre. In the firſt place, they contrived the moſt impious ſcheme that ever men deviſed. For, though it is every where a rule not to put to death upon a feſtival even ſuch as are legally condemned to die, yet theſe men pitched upon the laſt day of the Euclean ſolemnity, as preſuming they ſhould then ſurprize the largeſt number upon the *forum*, to execute the maſſacre. When the marks of whom they were to diſpatch had been given to the perſons employed, they drew their ſwords, and murdered one perſon ſtanding in the circle, another ſitting leiſurely down, another in the theatre, and another on the very bench of juſtice. When once the alarm was ſpred, the very beſt men of Corinth betook themſelves immediately, ſome to the ſtatues of the Gods in the *forum*, and ſome to the altars. But this moſt execrable band of aſſaſſins, entirely loſt to all ſenſe of duty, I mean equally thoſe who contrived and thoſe who executed the facts, murdered them even in the temples; inſomuch that ſome, who received no harm, but retained a due ſenſe of humanity, were moſt grievouſly afflicted at the ſight of ſuch impiety. In this manner moſt of the elderly Corinthians, as ſuch generally frequented the *forum*, are put to death. The younger ſort, as Paſimelus ſuſpected what was in agitation, kept themſelves quietly in Craneum. But when they heard the noiſe, and ſome came flying from the ſcene to take refuge amongſt them, they at once ran up to the citadel of Corinth, and repulſed the Argives and others who were making an aſſault upon it. Whilſt now they were conſulting what was to be done, a capital falls off from a column, without either an earthquake or a blaſt of wind. They ſacrificed, and the appearance of the victims was ſuch, that the ſoothſayers declared it was beſt for them to go down from thence. At firſt therefore, like ſo many exiles, they withdrew

withdrew out of the territory of Corinth. But their friends ſending perſuaſions after them, nay their mothers and their brethren coming to them with intreaties, and even ſome now inveſted with power promiſing with an oath that no harm ſhould be done them, they at length came back to their former habitations. Yet, now beholding the tyrants in authority, perceiving the actual ruin of the State, ſince the boundaries were demoliſhed, and they were to ſtile their country *Argos* inſted of *Corinth*; neceſſitated, farther, to ſubmit to the polity of Argos ſo unſuited to their taſte, and reduced within their own walls to a worſe condition than that of meer ſojourners; — ſome of them there were, who thought ſuch a life not worth the living, but well worth their while try if they could not make Corinth, as it had originally been, their own country again, if they could not aſſert its freedom, clear it of thoſe execrable aſſaſſins, and reſtore its excellent conſtitution: if indeed they could accompliſh theſe points, they ſhould become the preſervers of their country; and in caſe they miſcarried, they ſhould manifeſt a deſire of obtaining the moſt noble and moſt ſolid acquiſitions, and ſhould be ſure to die a moſt glorious death.

The long wall of Corinth ſurpriſed.

In this diſpoſition of mind, two of them, Paſimelus and Alcimenes, endeavoured by creeping in through the rivulet to confer with Praxitas a general-officer of the Lacedæmonians, who with his own brigade was now keeping guard in Sicyon, and told him, they could open him an entrance within the walls that reach down to Lecheum. Praxitas, who long ſince was well aſſured of their veracity, believed all they ſaid; and having obtained an order for his brigade, which was juſt going from Sicyon, to continue there, he ſettled with them the manner of this entrance. And when theſe two perſons either by regular rotation or purpoſed ſolicitation were placed on the guard of the gates, Praxitas then approacheth that ſpot of ground where ſtood the trophy with his Lacedæmonian brigade and the Sicyonians and as many Corinthian

exiles as were ready at hand. But when he was come up to the gates, and yet was afraid to enter, he desired he might first send in a person, in whom he confided, to take a view of what was within. The two projectors led him in, and with so much ingenuity shewed him every thing, that the person introduced reported that all was safe exactly to their former description of things: now therefore Praxitas enters. The distance between the two walls was great; when therefore they were drawn up within, and their number was judged too small, they fortified themselves with a rampart and ditch, the best they could make, to secure the post till their confederates came up to their support. There was also behind them in the harbour a garrison of Bœotians.

A battle within the walls.

Thus they entered by night, and passed the next day quietly without molestation. But the day after came marching down against them the Argives with all their force, who finding the Lacedæmonians drawn up on the right, next to them the Sicyonians, and the exiles from Corinth about a hundred and fifty in number close to the eastern wall, they range themselves also in order of battle. Nearest to the eastern wall were the mercenaries under Philocrates, next to them the Argives, the Corinthians from the city had the left. Their own numbers made them despise the foe, and they immediately charged. They beat indeed the Sicyonians, and having opened a breach in the rampart pursued them to the sea, and there slew many of them. But Pasimachus, who commanded the horse, though the number he had was very small, when he saw the Sicyonians defeated, ordered the horses to be fastened to the trees, and snatched away the shields from the fliers; and then, with such as were willing to follow him, he marched up to the Argives. The Argives, who saw the letter *S* upon their shields, took them for Sicyonians, and were under no apprehensions at all. Pasimachus is now reported to have said, "By the twin Gods, ye Argives, these *SS*

"will

" will be your ruin;" and immediately charged them. Engaging in this manner with a handful of men againſt numbers, he is ſlain with thoſe of his party.

In the mean time the Corinthian exiles, who had defeated their antagoniſts, were puſhing upwards, and were now approaching the wall that encircled the city. But the Lacedæmonians, who perceived the defeat of the Sicyonians, marched downwards to their ſuccour, keeping the rampart on their left. The Argives, hearing that the Lacedæmonians were in their rear, wheeled ſuddenly about and were throwing themſelves over the rampart. The fartheſt of them in the right, being ſtruck on the unarmed ſide by the Lacedæmonians, were dying apace. But thoſe neareſt the wall, cloſe gathered in a body, were retreating in a great multitude towards the city. Yet no ſooner did they fall in with the Corinthian exiles, and knew them to be enemies, than they again fled backwards. Here indeed ſome of them running up the ſtairs jumped down from the wall, and were bruiſed to death; others ſtriving to get up but beat off the ſtairs were ſlain; and ſome, trod under foot by their own companions, were trampled to death. The Lacedæmonians on this occaſion had enow and enow again to kill. Full employ was here aſſigned them by God, beyond all they could have prayed for. For that a multitude of enemies, affrighted, aſtoniſhed, expoſing their unarmed ſides, ſhould thus be delivered up to ſlaughter, not a ſoul amongſt them endeavoring to reſiſt, and all contributing in every reſpect to their own deſtruction——was not the hand of heaven diſcernible here? Accordingly, in a ſmall ſpace of time, ſuch numbers were ſlain, that men who had only been uſed to ſee heaps of corn, of wood, and of ſtones, ſaw at that time heaps of dead. The garriſon of Bœotians alſo in the harbour, ſome of them having climb'd upon the walls, and ſome of them upon the roof of the docks, were put to death.

Whe-

When all was over, the Corinthians and Argives fetched off their dead under truce; and the confederates of the Lacedæmonians came up to join them. When they were thus aſſembled, the firſt reſolution of Praxitas was, to lay open ſo much of the walls as would yield a ſufficient paſſage to an army; and he then marched the army off, and led them towards Megara. He now, in the firſt place, takes Sidus by aſſault; and after that, Crommyon. Having fixed a garriſon within the walls of theſe places, he reſumed his march. And having fortified Epiœcæa, that it might ſerve as a bulwark to cover the territories of the confederates, he then diſmiſſed the army, and returned himſelf to Sparta.

Henceforth neither ſide took the field with their grand armies; they only marched garriſons into the cities, one ſide to Corinth and the other to Sicyon, to preſerve theſe important places. Yet both ſides, being poſſeſſed of a body of mercenaries, were continually harraſſing and fighting one another. In this manner Iphicrates, breaking into the territory of Phlius, placed an ambuſcade, and then went about plundering the country with an handful of men, by which means he ſlew ſome of the Phliaſians who marched out of the city with too little circumſpection to drive him off. For this reaſon the Phliaſians, who before this accident would not receive the Lacedæmonians within their walls, leſt they ſhould reſtore thoſe perſons who ſaid they had been exiled for their attachment to the Lacedæmonians, became ſo terrified at thoſe who ſallied out from Corinth, that they ſent for the Lacedæmonians, and delivered up their city and citadel to their protection. The Lacedæmonians however, though benevolently diſpoſed towards theſe exiles, yet ſo long as they were maſters of the city, never made the leaſt mention of their recalment. And, ſo ſoon as they ſaw the city had recovered its uſual ſpirit, they evacuated the place, and reſtored them their town and their laws exactly as they received them.

But

But the party commanded by Iphicrates were making frequent incurſions into Arcadia, in which they took much booty, and even attacked the fortified places. For the heavy-armed of the Arcadians durſt never march out into the field againſt them, ſo highly terrified they were at the targeteers: and yet theſe very targeteers were ſo afraid of the Lacedæmonians, that they durſt never approach their heavy-armed within throw of javelin: nay, ſome of the younger Lacedæmonians had at times ventured to attack them even out of that diſtance, and had killed ſome of them. The Lacedæmonians, I ſay, had a contempt of theſe targeteers, but at the ſame time had a much greater contempt of their own confederates. For the Mantineans, when once they came out to join them, ran briſkly towards the targeteers, but being galled with darts from the wall reaching down to Lecheum, they wheel'd off, and ſome of them were killed in open flight: inſomuch that the Lacedæmonians ventured to break a ſevere jeſt upon them, ſaying "their confederates were as much afraid of "the targeteers, as children are of bugbears." They marched however out of Lecheum with a brigade of their own and the Corinthian exiles, and encamped themſelves in a circle round the city of Corinth.

The Athenians now, who dreaded the Lacedæmonian ſtrength left, as they had broken down a paſſage in the long walls of the Corinthians, they might march againſt them, thought it the moſt adviſable expedient to rebuild the walls that were demoliſhed by Praxitas. Thither accordingly they repaired with the whole force of Athens attended by carpenters and maſons, and in a few days time compleatly rebuilt the part towards Sicyon and the weſt, and then proceeded in a more leiſurely manner to repair the eaſtern wall.

But the Lacedæmonians, reflecting that the Argives, who are *War again Argos.* in a flouriſhing condition at home, were delighted at this war,

marched

march out to invade them. Ageſilaus commanded in this expedition, and after laying waſte all their territory, he departed thence by Tegea towards Corinth, and demoliſhed the walls juſt rebuilt by the Athenians. His brother Teleutias alſo came up to him by ſea with a ſquadron of about twelve triremes, ſo that their mother was now pronounced happy indeed, ſince in one and the ſame day one of her ſons commanding by land demoliſhed the walls of the enemy, and the other commanding at ſea deſtroyed their ſhips and docks. Ageſilaus however after theſe exploits diſbanded the confederates, and marched back the troops of that State to Sparta.

Year before Chriſt, 392. Ageſilaus *takes* Piræum.

The Lacedæmonians after this received intelligence from the exiles, that the Corinthians of the city had lodged and ſecured all their cattle in Piræum, by which means they enjoyed a plentiful ſubſiſtence; upon which they march out afreſh againſt Corinth, Ageſilaus commanding alſo on this occaſion. In the firſt place, he arrived at the Iſthmus. It was now the month in which the Iſthmian games are celebrated. The Argives were this moment there, preſiding at the ſacrifice to Neptune, as if Argos was Corinth. But they no ſooner perceived the approach of Ageſilaus, than abandoning their ſacrifices and their feaſts in the higheſt conſternation they withdrew into the city of Corinth by the road of Cenchreæ. Ageſilaus however would not purſue, though he ſaw their flight. But taking up his own quarters in the temple, he himſelf ſacrificed to the God, and continued there till the Corinthian exiles had performed their ſacrifices to Neptune, and the games. Yet, when Ageſilaus was departed, the Argives did all over again. This year therefore it happened, that in ſome inſtances the ſame perſon was beaten twice over; and in others, that the very ſame perſons were twice proclaimed to be victors.

It was on the fourth day that Ageſilaus led his army towards Piræum. But finding it numerouſly guarded, after the time of repaſte

repaſte he encamped before Corinth, as if he was ſure of its ſurrender. The Corinthians therefore, being ſadly alarmed leſt the city might actually be betrayed to him, ſent for Iphicrates with the greateſt part of his targeteers. And Ageſilaus, diſcovering that they had marched into Corinth by night, wheeled off ſo ſoon as it was day, and led directly towards Piræum. He himſelf advanced by the hot baths, and ſent a brigade up to the higheſt part of the mountain. The night following he encamped near the baths, and the brigade ſpent the night on the ſummit of the mountain. And on this occaſion Ageſilaus gained high reputation by a ſmall but ſeaſonable piece of management. For though there were perſons enow employed in carrying up proviſions to the brigade, yet nobody brought them any fire. They found it exceſſively cold, they were mounted quite aloft in the air, and hail and rain had fallen in the evening. Beſides, they had got upon the mountain clad only in their thin ſummer-garments. They were ſhivering, were quite in the dark, and had no appetite at all to their ſupper. Ageſilaus ſends them no leſs than ten perſons with fire in chaffin-diſhes. When theſe, getting up as they could by different paths, had reached the ſummit, many and large fires were ſoon kindled, ſince there was plenty of fuel at hand, and all the Lacedæmonians anointed themſelves, and many of them made a hearty ſupper. This very night the temple of Neptune was ſeen all in flames; but by whom it was ſet on fire is ſtill unknown. And now, when they in the Piræum perceived that the eminence was poſſeſſed by the enemy, they no longer thought of reſiſting: they betook themſelves therefore for refuge into the temple of Juno, both men and women, ſlaves as well as free-men, with the greateſt part of their cattle. Ageſilaus marched at the head of the army along the ſea-coaſt. But the brigade at the ſame time coming down from the eminence takes Oenoë a fortreſs walled about, and made booty of every thing

within it. That day every ſoldier in the army gained abundantly in plunder whatever he could ſtand in need of. For thoſe, who had refuged themſelves in the temple of Juno, came out and left to the diſcretion of Ageſilaus to determine what ſhould be done with them. His ſentence was, that "all ſuch as had been con-"cerned in the maſſacre ſhould be delivered up to the exiles, "and all their effects in general ſhould be ſold." In conſequence of this all ſorts of living creatures came out of the temple to ſurrender.

Many *embaſſies from* different States were attending here. Even the Bœotians were come with a demand—"What they muſt "do to obtain a peace?" But Ageſilaus with an air of high elevation would not condeſcend to look towards them, though Pharax the public hoſt of the Bœotians ſtood at their head ready to introduce them to him. He was now ſitting in the Rotunda at the harbour, and taking a view of the booty as they brought it out. A party of Lacedæmonians, belonging to the heavy-armed, with their ſpears alone were guarding the priſoners along, and were gazed at with admiration by the ſtanders-by: for the happy and the victorious are generally regarded as fine ſpectacles indeed. Ageſilaus ſtill kept his ſeat, and ſeemed to be highly delighted with the ſcene before him, when a perſon on horſeback came galloping that way with his horſe in a foam. Many perſons called upon him to tell his news, to whom he made no anſwer. But when he was come near to Ageſilaus, throwing himſelf off, and running up to him with a very gloomy countenance, he told him the ſad calamity of the brigade at Lecheum. Ageſilaus no ſooner heard it than he jumped from his ſeat, ſnatched his ſpear, and ordered the herald to call the general-officers, the captains of companies, and the commanders of the auxiliary troops. When theſe came running to him, he ordered the reſt of them (for they had not yet dined) to take a little meat

with their utmoſt diſpatch and follow him with all ſpeed, whilſt himſelf with Damatias and his company ſet out inſtantly though faſting. His guards too in their heavy armour ſet out eagerly with him; he went off at their head, they followed their Leader. When he had paſſed by the hot baths and was got into the plain of Lecheum, three horſemen ride up and tell him, that "the "dead bodies are recovered." When he heard this, he ordered his ſoldiers to ground their arms; and, after halting ſome time, he led them back again to the temple of Juno.

On the day following every thing they had taken was diſpoſed of by ſale. And the Bœotian embaſſadors were then called for, and aſked the reaſon of their coming. But now, they made not the leaſt mention of peace, ſaying only, "they were deſirous, "if permiſſion could be obtained, to go into the city to ſpeak "with their countrymen who were ſerving there." "I am well "ſatisfied, Ageſilaus replied with a ſmile; you have not ſo great "a deſire to ſee the ſoldiers, as to gain a view of the late ſucceſs "of your friends, and know how conſiderable it is. But have "patience; I will conduct you thither myſelf. And if you go "with me, you will be much more likely to come to an exact "knowledge of the truth." He was as good as his word; for the next day, after a ſacrifice, he led his army towards the city. He would not demoliſh the trophy; yet, if a ſingle tree was left ſtanding, felling it and breaking it in ſhatters, he convinced them that nobody durſt come out into the field againſt him. After doing this, he encamped near Lecheum, and ſent away the Theban embaſſadors, not indeed to Corinth but by ſea to Cruſis. Yet ſuch a calamity as the late one being an unuſual thing to Lacedæmonians, a general dejection was viſible throughout the camp, except in the perſons, whoſe ſons or fathers or brothers had died in their poſts. Theſe indeed, as if they had gained a victory, walked up and down with a chearful countenance; ex-

ulting over their own private misfortunes. But the great calamity of that brigade fell out in the following manner:

Defeat of a Lacedæmonian brigade.

The Lacedæmonians of Amyclæ, though they are in the field or abroad on any buſineſs whatever, always repair home at the Hyacinthian feſtival to join in the pæan. At this juncture therefore Ageſilaus had picked the Amycleans out of all the troops, and left them at Lecheum. The officer who commanded that garriſon ordered a body of the confederates to take care and guard the fortreſs, whilſt himſelf with his brigade of heavy-armed and the horſe convoyed the Amycleans in ſafety by the city of Corinth. When they were got to the diſtance of about twenty or thirty *ſtadia*[a] from Sicyon, the officer with his heavy-armed, who were about ſix hundred, was returning back again to Lecheum, but had left orders with the commander of the horſe to proceed forwards with the Amycleans till they thought proper to diſmiſs him, and then likewiſe to return to Lecheum. They were not ignorant, it is true, that many both of the targeteers and heavy-armed were now in Corinth. They however entertained a contempt of them, as if nobody durſt preſume to attack Lacedæmonians, after their late ſucceſſes. But they of Corinth, and Callias the ſon of Hipponicus who commanded the heavy-armed Athenians, and Iphicrates who commanded the targeteers, ſeeing plainly that they were but few in number and had neither targeteers nor horſemen with them, thought they might ſafely attack them with their own targeteers: for, ſhould they proceed in their march, they could make havoc of them by throwing darts at their unarmed ſides; and if they endeavor'd to purſue, targeteers could eaſily avoid the nimbleſt men in heavy armour. Having thus conſidered the point, they lead out into the field. Callias, for his part, drew up his heavy-armed not far from the city, whilſt Iphicrates with his targeteers began the attack upon the Lacedæmonian brigade. The Lacedæmonians being thus galled with

with darts, here one of them was receiving wounds, and there another was droping, and ſuch as ſtood next in the ranks were ordered to take them up and carry them to Lecheum; and thoſe of the brigade, who were thus employed, were the only perſons in reality who eſcaped with life. In the mean time, the commanding officer ordered the Lacedæmonians of the firſt military claſs to purſue and drive away the enemy. They purſued it is true, but got not within javelins throw of any of them, heavy-armed as they were in chace of targeteers. And he had farther injoined them to retire from purſuit, before they came up to the heavy-armed of the enemy. When therefore they were retreating in a ſtragling manner, ſince they had purſued before with their utmoſt ſpeed, the targeteers of Iphicrates faced about again, and kept pouring in their darts either directly upon them, or running up to their flanks on the unarmed ſides. And immediately, in this firſt purſuit, they ſlew nine or ten of the Lacedæmonians. Being ſo far ſucceſsful, they renewed their attacks with much greater ſpirit than before. The Lacedæmonians were grievouſly annoyed; and the commanding-officer now ordered the two firſt military claſſes to purſue. They did ſo, but loſt more perſons in the retreat than they had done before. Their beſt men being thus deſtroyed, the horſemen are returned and join them; ſo now accompanied by the horſe they renew the purſuit. But on this occaſion, when the targeteers kept flying before them, the horſe managed the purſuit in a very improper manner. They rode not after them ſo as to reach and ſlaughter the fliers, but keeping abreaſt with their own foot, either advanced or retreated with them. After repeating this method again and again, and ſuffering at every repetition, their numbers were continually leſſening, their efforts were fainter and fainter, whilſt the enemy attacked with redoubled ſpirit, and came thicker at them than before. Thus grievouſly diſtreſſed, they draw cloſe together in a body on a little

a little hillock about two *ſtadia* from the ſea, and about ſixteen or ſeventeen from Lecheum. Thoſe at Lecheum, perceiving what was the matter, leap into their boats, rowed amain, and at length came to the hillock. But already grievouſly diſtreſſed, they were dying apace, they could do nothing at all in their own defence; and, what was worſe, beholding the heavy-armed advancing to attack them, they take to flight. Some of them now ruſh into the ſea, and a ſmall number get ſafe to Lecheum with the horſe. But in all the ſkirmiſhes and the flight no leſs than two hundred and fifty of them were deſtroyed. And in this manner was this affair conducted.

Ageſilaus now marched off, taking with him the ſuffering brigade and leaving a freſh one at Lecheum. Through the whole of his march to Sparta, he entered every city as late as poſſible in the evening, and reſumed his march as early as poſſible every morning. Nay, he ſet out ſo early from Orchomenus, that he paſſed by Mantinea before it was day-light. The ſoldiers could not bear to ſee the Mantineans with joy in their faces for the late calamity they had ſuffered.

After this, Iphicrates continued to act ſucceſsfully in every thing he undertook. For as a garriſon had been placed at Sidus and Crommyon by Praxitas when he took thoſe places, and another at Oenoë by Ageſilaus, when he took Piræum, Iphicrates reduced them all. The Lacedæmonians however and confederates ſtill continued their guard at Lecheum; but the Corinthian exiles durſt no longer march towards Corinth by land from Sicyon, being awed by the late calamity of the brigade; but going by water, and landing frequently near it, they carried on hoſtilities, vexatious indeed on both ſides, with thoſe in the city.

Year before Chriſt, 391. After this, the Achæans, who were poſſeſſors of Calydon anciently belonging to Ætolia, and had declared the Caledonians to be members of their own community, were obliged to keep a garriſon

garriſon in the place. For the Acarnanians made war upon it, aſſiſted by ſome Athenians and Bœotians in purſuance of the confederacy between them. The Achæans therefore, being at this time diſtreſſed, ſend embaſſadors to Lacedæmon. They arrived there, and ſaid,—"they were treated wrongfully by the Lace-"dæmonians. For our own parts (ſaid they), and you know "it, Lacedæmonians, we readily take the field whenever you "ſummon us, and march whitherſoever you lead us. And "now, that a city of ours is blocked up by the Acarnanians and "their confederates the Athenians and Bœotians, you take no "manner of care of us. Thus deſerted as we are, we are no "longer able to make head againſt them. But we muſt either "entirely, giving up the war in Peloponneſus, employ our "whole force againſt the Acarnanians and their confederates, "or ſubmit to a peace the beſt we can get." Thus they ſpoke with a kind of threat to the Lacedæmonians to abandon their confederacy, unleſs they ſent them ſuccour in their turn. But after this repreſentation, it was judged expedient by the Ephori and Council of State, to march with the Achæans againſt the Acarnanians. Accordingly they ſend out Ageſilaus with two Lacedæmonian brigades and a body of confederates; and the Achæans joined in the expedition with the whole of their force. But when Ageſilaus had made his paſſage, all the Acarnanians fled out of the country into the cities, and drove away their cattle to a very diſtant place, that they might not be taken by his army. Ageſilaus, ſo ſoon as he arrived on the enemy's frontiers, ſent to Stratus the capital of Acarnania, and declared, that "if they did "not relinquiſh their confederacy with the Bœotians and Athe-"nians and join the Lacedæmonians and their confederates, he "would lay all their country waſte, and not ſpare the leaſt cor-"ner in it." And, as they gave no heed to this declaration,

Ageſilaus commands in the Acarnanian war.

[3] Dr. Taylor's reading, καὶ ς διαπέλαμσε μὲν.

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he kept his word. For without any intermiſſion carrying on his devaſtations, he advanced in his marches not above ten or twelve *ſtadia* a day. The Acarnanians therefore, thinking they had little to apprehend from the ſlow marches of this army, fetched down their cattle from the mountains, and almoſt every where reſumed their rural employments. When now they were judged by Ageſilaus to have given up all fear, on the fifteenth or ſixteenth day after he had entered the country, he ſacrificed early in the morning, and before evening compleated a march of * one hundred and ſixty *ſtadia* to the lake about which were almoſt all the cattle of the Acarnanians, and took a vaſt many herds of oxen and horſes and flocks of cattle of all other kinds and many ſlaves. Having thus gained it, he halted there the next day, and ſold all the booty; many targeteers however of the Acarnanians came up; and, as Ageſilaus had encamped upon a mountain, were ſhooting and ſlinging without ſuffering any thing in return, and obliged the army to come down into the plain from the ſummit of the mountain, though they had juſt been preparing for ſupper. The Acarnanians indeed drew off at night; and the army, having poſted guards, took their repoſe in quiet: but the next day Ageſilaus led them back. The iſſue from the meadow and plain round the lake was narrow, becauſe the ground was on all ſides ſurrounded by mountains. The Acarnanians had poſted themſelves upon them, and kept pouring down from above their darts and javelins. They even ventured down to the ſkirts of the mountains; they attacked and annoyed the army, ſo that they could no longer proceed in their march. The heavy-armed it is true from the main-body and the horſe purſued them, but did no damage to ſuch aſſailants: for the Acarnanians, whenever they thought proper to retire, were immediately in their ſtrong holds. Ageſilaus, eſteeming it a difficult piece of work for an army thus grievouſly annoyed to get clear through ſo narrow a paſs, determined

* *About ſixteen miles.*

mined to purſue thoſe who attacked on his left, as they were the moſt numerous body. The mountain alſo on this ſide was much eaſier of aſcent for the heavy-armed and horſe. Yet during the time that he ſacrificed and conſulted the victims, the Acarnanians ſtill continued to pour down their darts and javelins, and approaching nearer and nearer wounded numbers. But at length, upon his giving the ſignal, the heavy-armed of the two firſt military claſſes ſtarted forwards, the horſemen were riding up, and Ageſilaus followed with the reſt. Such of the Acarnanians therefore as had ventured down the mountain and had been ſkirmiſhing with them, are ſoon forced to fly, and whilſt ſcrambling up the aſcent were put to death. The heavy-armed of the Acarnanians and many of their targeteers were drawn up on the ſummit of the mountain, where they ſtood their ground, and let fly their darts, and ſtriking at them with their ſpears wounded the horſemen and ſlew ſome horſes. But when they were very near falling into the hands of the Lacedæmonian heavy-armed, they took to flight, and this day about three hundred of them were ſlain.

After ſo much ſucceſs Ageſilaus erected a trophy. And then marching round the country he laid it all waſte with fire and ſword. He even aſſaulted ſome of the towns, merely in compliance with the intreaties of the Achæans, but he took not one. And now, as autumn was coming on apace, he marched out of the country.

The Achæans nevertheleſs thought that he had done nothing at all, ſince he had not made himſelf maſter of a ſingle town either by force or voluntary ſurrender. They beg'd therefore, that "if nothing elſe could be done, he would only ſtay ſo long in "the enemy's country as to hinder them from ſowing their corn." His anſwer was, that "they are pleading againſt their own in-"tereſt. I ſhall certainly march hither again next ſummer.

" The more ſeed therefore they ſow, the more deſirous of courſe " they will be of peace." Having ſaid thus, he marched off his army through Ætolia by ſuch roads as neither a large nor ſmall army could have paſſed without leave from the Ætolians. However they ſuffered him to proceed, for they hoped he would aſſiſt them to recover Naupactus. But when he came to the cape of Rhium, he croſſed the ſea and returned to Sparta. For the Athenians, who had ſtationed themſelves with a ſquadron at Oeniadæ, ſtop'd all paſſage to Peloponneſus from Calydon.

Year before Chriſt, 390.

When the winter was over, Ageſilaus in purſuance of his promiſe to the Achæans declared an expedition in the very beginning of ſpring againſt the Acarnanians. The latter had notice of it, and reaſoned right, that as their city lay in the heart of their country, they ſhould ſuffer a ſiege as much from thoſe who deſtroyed their corn, as if they were inveſted in form. They ſent therefore embaſſadors to Lacedæmon, and made a peace with the Achæans, and an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the Lacedæmonians. And thus ended the war of Acarnania.

Ageſipolis *commands in the* Argive *war.*

Henceforth the Lacedæmonians judged it by no means ſafe to march their army againſt the Athenians or Bœotians, and leave the great and hoſtile ſtate of Argos, lying on their own frontier, behind their backs: they proclaim therefore an expedition againſt Argos. Ageſipolis, who knew that he was to command in this expedition, and found the victims favourable which he ſacrificed for ſucceſs, went to Olympia to conſult the oracle. He demanded of the God, " Whether in conſiſtence with piety he might reject " the truce which the Argives would plead?" for the latter would begin to compute its expiration not from the day of the declaration, but from the time when the Lacedæmonians actually broke into their country. The God ſignified to him, that " conſiſtently with piety he might reject it ſo wrongfully pleaded." From thence without loſs of time he repaired to Delphi, and there

there demanded of Apollo, " Whether he judged of the truce " in the ſame manner with his father?" He anſwered poſitively to the ſame purpoſe. Accordingly Ageſipolis put himſelf at the head of the army and marched from Phlius (for there it had aſſembled, whilſt he was on his journey to the oracles) and broke in by the paſs of Nemea. But the Argives, when they found themſelves unable to make head againſt him, ſent to him as uſual two heralds with garlands on their heads, alledging that " the " truce was not yet expired." Ageſipolis, having anſwered, that " the Gods had decided againſt the juſtice of their plea," refuſed to obſerve it, and marched forwards into the country, and ſoon cauſed high perplexity and diſtreſs over all the country, and in Argos itſelf. But the firſt day they were in Argia, after Ageſipolis had ſup'd, and upon finiſhing ſupper they were making the libation, Neptune ſhook the earth. Upon this the Lacedæmonians, who were but juſt ſet out from home, joined in chorus and ſung the pæan to the God; but the reſt of the troops concluded, that they ought to return home immediately, ſince Agis formerly upon the ſhock of an earthquake had marched them out of Elis. Ageſipolis alledged, that " if the God had ſhook the " earth when he was only intending to break in, he ſhould have " conſtrued it a prohibition; but now that he actually had broke " in, he judged it an exhortation;" and ſo, the next day, after ſacrificing to Neptune, he advanced, though not far, into the country. As Ageſilaus had lately commanded in an expedition againſt Argos, Ageſipolis aſked the ſoldiers, how near he had advanced to the walls of the city? how far he had extended his devaſtations? and then, like the champion in public games who ſtruggles for every prize, he endeavored to outdo him in every reſpect. He was once even within reach of darts from the turrets, but then he immediately repaſſed the trenches that ſurrounded the walls. And when moſt of the Argives were marched into

Laconia, he approached ſo near to the very gates, that they ſhut them againſt ſome Bœotian horſemen who had juſt deſired to be let in, afraid that the Lacedæmonians might ruſh in along with them; inſomuch that thoſe horſemen were compelled to keep clinging under the battlements, like ſo many bats. And had not the Cretans at that time been abſent on an excurſion to Nauplia, many men and horſes too muſt have been ſhot to death. But after this, when he lay incamped near Eiretæ, a thunderbolt fell in the camp. Some were much affrighted, but ſome were actually killed by the lightning. And having afterwards a mind to fortify a caſtle at the entrance of the paſs over the Colouſa, he ſacrificed, and the victims appeared without lobes. Determined by this, he led off the army and diſmiſſed them, having done vaſt damage to the Argives by an invaſion ſo little expected.

Operations by ſea.

The war was in this manner carried on at land. And I ſhall now relate the concurrent tranſactions at ſea and the cities on the ſea-coaſt; deſcribing ſuch of them only as are worthy of remembrance, and omitting ſuch as deſerve not a particular mention.

Conon.

In the firſt place therefore Pharnabazus and Conon, after beating the Lacedæmonians at ſea, ſailing round to the iſles and the maritime cities, drove out the Lacedæmonian commandants, and gained the hearty goodwill of the people, as they placed no garriſons in their citadels, but left them free and independent. Nay ſuch as only heard of this behavior were delighted with and commended it much, and ſent chearfully their hoſpitable preſents to Pharnabazus. For Conon had convinced him, that if he acted thus, "he would be ſure of the friendſhip of all the cities: but "in caſe he manifeſted any deſign to enſlave them, then (he ad-"ded) each ſingle city is able to cut you out a deal of trouble, "and the danger is that all the Greeks, when they ſee into your "ſchemes, will unite together againſt you." Pharnabazus therefore was perſuaded by him; and, going on ſhore at Epheſus, he

he gave Conon forty ſhips; and, having told him to meet him at Seſtus, he went by land to his own dominions. Dercyllidas truly, an inveterate enemy to Pharnabazus, happening to be at Abydus at the time of the late battle at ſea. Yet, inſted of abandoning his town, as did the other commandants, he faſt ſecured Abydus, and kept it firm to the Lacedæmonians. His firſt ſtep had been to convene the Abydenians, and to harangue them thus:

Speech of Dercyllidas.

" It is now, ye men of Abydus, in your power, as you long " have been ſteddy friends to the Lacedæmonian State, to prove " yourſelves their actual benefactors. To continue faithful during " a courſe of proſperity hath nothing wonderful in it; but, when " any ſet of men continue ſteddily attached to friends in adver- " ſity, they ought on that account to be eternally remembered. " Not that we are in ſo bad a ſituation as to be nothing at all, " becauſe we have been beaten at ſea. For formerly, when the " Athenians were the ſovereigns of the ſea, our State was very " well able to do good to her friends and harm to her enemies. " But by how much the larger is the number of the cities, which " veering about with fortune at preſent defert us, by ſo much " will your fidelity be actually the more conſpicuous. Some " perſons it is true may apprehend, that we are in danger here " of being beſieged both by land and ſea; but let ſuch re- " flect, that as yet no Grecian fleet appears at ſea, and that " Greece will never ſuffer a fleet of Barbarians to ride maſters " of the ſea. Greece undoubtedly will aſſiſt herſelf, and conſe- " quently will fight for you."

The Abydenians, having heard him, were readily without any reluctance perſuaded. They received in a friendly manner the new governants, and invited to their poſts ſuch as had abſented. But Dercyllidas, ſo ſoon as a large body of men well qualified for ſervice were aſſembled in Abydus, paſſed over to Seſtus, which

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is over-againſt Abydus, diſtant from it no more than eight *ſtadia*, and collected together all the perſons who had been ſettled by the Lacedæmonians on the lands of the Cherſoneſus, and as many of the commandants as had been ejected out of the cities in Europe. He received them kindly, telling them, "they ought "not to give way to dejection, but recall to mind, that even yet "in Aſia, which originally belongs to the King, there are "Temnus, though not a large city, and the Ægians, and other "places in which they might ſettle, and diſdain ſubmiſſion to "the King. Nay, where (he went on) can you find another "place ſo ſtrong as Seſtus? what town more difficult to be re-"duced by ſiege? ſince it cannot poſſibly be blocked up without "both a land and a naval force." And by talking to them in this manner, he preſerved them from total dejection.

Pharnabazus, when he found that Dercyllidas had thus ſecured Abydus and Seſtus, ſent word to the inhabitants, that "if they "did not ſend away the Lacedæmonians, he would make war "upon them;" and, as they were not to be awed by this menace, he ſent orders to Conon not to ſuffer them to ſtir by ſea, and then he ravaged in perſon the territory of the Abydenians. But as nothing he did could induce them to ſurrender, he himſelf went home, and ordered Conon ſo to manage the cities in Helleſpont, that as large a fleet as poſſible might be gathered together in the ſpring. Full of reſentment againſt the Lacedæmonians for the harm they had done him, it was his high ambition to go even to Laconia, and revenge himſelf to the utmoſt of his power. They ſpent the winter therefore in making preparations; and early in the ſpring, having man'd out a numerous fleet and hired a body of auxiliaries, Pharnabazus put to ſea and Conon with him, and ſailed through the iſlands to Melos, and from thence they proceeded towards Lacedæmon. In the firſt place, making a deſcent at Pheræ, he laid all the adjacent country waſte; and afterwards

repeating

repeating his deſcents on the coaſt, he did them all poſſible damage. Yet, terrified at a coaſt where harbours were ſo ſcarce, and at the readineſs of the people to reſiſt him, added to the danger of wanting proviſions, he ſoon turned back, and ſtanding off caſt anchor at Phœnicus of Cythera. But when ſuch of the Cytherians as guarded the city were afraid of being ſtormed and taken priſoners, they evacuated their works; and theſe perſons, according to terms granted them by Pharnabazus, were ſent over by him into Laconia. He then repaired the fortifications of the Cytherians, and left a garriſon there under the command of Nicophebus the Athenian. Having done this, he ſailed up to the iſthmus of Corinth; and after encouraging the confederates to proceed briſkly in the war, and to manifeſt their zeal for the King, he gave them all the money he had with him, and then departing ſailed immediately home.

The long-walls of Athens *rebuilt by* Conon.

But Conon repreſenting to him, that "if he would put the "fleet under his command, he would furniſh it with all needful "ſupplies from the iſlands, and then ſailing back to Athens "would rebuild the *long-walls* and the wall round the Piræus, "than which (he aſſured him) nothing would vex the Lacedæ-"monians more. Hereby too (he added) you yourſelf, Phar-"nabazus, will moſt highly oblige the Athenians, and take "ample revenge on the Lacedæmonians, for you will undo at "once what they have long been labouring with their higheſt "application." Pharnabazus, hearing this, readily ſent him away to Athens, and furniſhed him with money to rebuild the walls. Accordingly on his arrival, he rebuilt great part of the wall, employing his own ſeamen in the work, advancing wages to carpenters and maſons, and defraying every needful expence. The remaining part of it the Athenians themſelves and the Bœotians and other States rebuilt voluntarily at the ſame time.

In the mean whilẽ the Corinthians, who by help of the money Pharnabazus left behind had man'd out a fleet and given the command of it to Agathinus, were quite maſters by ſea in the bay round Achaia and Lecheum. The Lacedæmonians indeed man'd out a fleet againſt them, which was commanded by Polemarchus. But as an engagement came on, in which Polemarchus was killed, and Pollis his lieutenant was alſo carried aſhore wounded, Herippidas takes upon him the command of the ſhips. However Proænus the Corinthian, who ſucceeded Agathinus in the command of the fleet, abandoned Rhium, and the Lacedæmonians immediately took poſſeſſion of it. Teleutias after this took the fleet from Herippidas, and now again he was maſter of the whole bay.

Negotiations of Antalcidas.

But the Lacedæmonians having heard, that Conon at the King's expence was rebuilding the walls of Athens, and by the ſame means ſubſiſting his fleet, and ſettling the iſlands and maritime cities on the continent in a manner moſt agreeable to the Athenian intereſt, they imagined that could they give Teribazus who was one of the King's Generals an information of theſe points, they ſhould either bring him over to their own ſide, or at leaſt put a ſtop to the ſubſiſtence of Conon's fleet. And thus reſolved, they ſend Antalcidas to Teribazus, inſtructing him to inform Teribazus of all theſe points, and endeavor to make peace between the State of Lacedæmon and the King. The Athenians, aware of the deſign, ſend away an embaſſy along with Conon conſiſting of Hermogenes and Dion and Calliſthenes and Callimedon. They alſo invited their confederates to diſpatch their embaſſies in company with them: accordingly they were ſent by the Bœotians, and from Corinth, and from Argos. When all were arrived, Antalcidas told Teribazus, that "he came to ſolicit a peace between his own conſtituents and "the King, and ſuch a peace as the King himſelf muſt be glad

"of.

" of. For the Lacedæmonians would have no diſpute with the " King about the Greek cities in Aſia; they would reſt contented, " if the iſlands and other cities were left free and independent. " And why (ſays he), when we are thus compliant, ſhould ei- " ther the Greeks or the King carry on a war againſt us? or why " ſhould the King incur ſo vaſt an expence? For when we no " longer lead, it will be impoſſible either for the Athenians to " make war upon the King, or for us to do ſo ourſelves, when " the cities are free and independent." Theſe words of Antalcidas were heard by Teribazus with high ſatisfaction; but to the oppoſite parties they were to continue to be meerly words. For the Athenians, in caſe it was agreed to leave the cities and iſlands free and independent, were afraid of loſing Lemnos and Imbrus and Sciros; the Thebans were alſo afraid they ſhould be obliged to ſet the cities of Bœotia at liberty; and the Argives were apprehenſive of diſappointment in their deſire to keep as faſt hold of Corinth as Argos, if ſuch a treaty and ſuch a peace was made. By this means no terms of peace could be agreed on, and every embaſſy again went home.

As to Teribazus, he thought it not conſiſtent with his own perſonal ſecurity, to make a ſeparate peace with the Lacedæmonians without conſulting the King. However, he gave Antalcidas a ſupply of money to enable the Lacedæmonians to keep a fleet at ſea, in order to render a peace quite neceſſary to the Athenians and their confederates; and he ſhut up Conon in priſon, as one who had injured the King, and was juſtly accuſed by the Lacedæmonians. After this, he made a journey to the King, to tell him what the Lacedæmonians had propoſed, and that he had apprehended Conon for his ill behavior, and to receive orders about his future conduct. The King indeed, ſo ſoon as Teribazus arrives at court, ſends Struthes down as governor of the maritime provinces on the coaſt. And Struthes exerted

himſelf in warm attachment to the Athenians, remembering what damage the dominions of his Maſter had ſuffered from Ageſilaus.

Thimbro commands in Aſia.

The Lacedæmonians, when they ſaw that Struthes had turned out an enemy to them, but a friend to the Athenians, ſend Thimbro to make war againſt him. And Thimbro, when he had croſſed the ſea and taken his march from Epheſus and the cities in the plains of Mæander, Priene, and Leucophrys, and Achilleum, put the dominions of the King to fire and ſword. But in proceſs of time, Struthes having received intelligence, that Thimbro ran over the country in that negligent manner which ſhewed a contempt of his enemies, he ſent his cavalry into the plains of Mæander, whom he ordered to ride quite round and drive off every thing they could find. It happened, that Thimbro was now paſſing the time after dinner in the tent of Therſander the muſician: for Therſander was not only a good muſician, but a good ſoldier too, ſince he had been trained at Sparta. Struthes, who perceived the enemy were marching about in a negligent manner, and to be few in number when he firſt diſcovered them, ruſhes at once upon them with a numerous and firmly compacted
Ibid. body of horſe. Both Thimbro and Therſander were among the firſt whom they ſlew. And after killing them, they ſoon put the reſt of the enemy to flight, and purſuing made a vaſt ſlaughter of them. There were ſome indeed who compleated their eſcape to friendly cities; but there were more who ſaved themſelves by being left behind and not knowing in time of the engagement. For very often, and on this occaſion too, Thimbro had advanced againſt the enemy, without giving any ſignal to the troops to follow. And theſe things were done in this manner.

Diphridas commands in Aſia.

But when thoſe, who had been exiled from Rhodes by the *people*, were arrived at Lacedæmon, they repreſented there, "how "impolitic it would be to continue inactive, whilſt the Athenians

"were

" were reducing Rhodes, and gaining ſo great an acceſſion of " ſtrength." The Lacedæmonians therefore, well apprized that if the *people* were maſters all Rhodes would be in the power of the Athenians, but if the *rich* prevail it would be in their own, man'd out eight ſhips for their aſſiſtance, and appointed Eedicus to command them. On board theſe ſhips they alſo ſent away Diphridas. The latter they ordered to go over into Aſia, and there to ſecure the cities which had adhered to Thimbro, and to take upon him the command of the troops yet remaining, and reinforcing them with all poſſible additions to make war upon Struthes. Diphridas obeyed all his orders; and, amongſt other parts of his ſucceſsful conduct, takes priſoners Tigranes and his wife, who was the daughter of Struthes, as they were travelling to Sardis, and for a vaſt ſum of money ſet them again at liberty. By this money he was immediately enabled to pay his troops. For Diphridas gave in every reſpect as great ſatisfaction as Thimbro had given; but, as a general, outdid him far in diſcipline and vigilant activity. No bodily indulgence ever gained the aſcendant over him, but on the contrary he gave all his attention to the buſineſs in hand. But Eedicus, after ſailing to Cnidus, heard there that the *people* had the entire poſſeſſion of Rhodes, and were maſters both by land and ſea. Nay, they were then out at ſea with a number of triremes double to his own. He therefore continued quietly at Cnidus. But the Lacedæmonians, when they found his ſquadron was too ſmall to give any effectual aid to their friends, ordered Teleutias with the twelve ſhips he commanded in the bay along Achaia and Lecheum, to ſail round to Eedicus; and as to Eedicus, to ſend him home, whilſt himſelf took all the care he could of ſuch as deſired his protection, and did all poſſible damage to the enemy. Teleutias, when he arrived at Samos, enlarged his fleet with the ſhips from thence, and proceeded to Cnidus, but Eedicus returned home.

Teleutias at ſea.

Teleutias, having now twenty-ſeven ſhips, put to ſea againſt Rhodes. But in his courſe he falls in with Philocrates the ſon of Ephialtus, who with thirteen ſhips was bound from Athens to Cyprus to aſſiſt Evagoras; and he takes them all. Both parties on this occaſion were acting in direct contrariety to their own intereſt. For the Athenians, who enjoyed the friendſhip of the King, were ſending this aid to Evagoras, who was at war with the King; and Teleutias, whilſt the Lacedæmonians were likewiſe at war with him, demoliſhed thoſe who were going to a war againſt him. But Teleutias, having ſteered back again to Cnidus and diſpoſed of his captures, proceeded afterwards to Rhodes to ſuccour the friends of Sparta.

Thraſybulus. The Athenians, growing now apprehenſive that the Lacedæmonians might re-eſtabliſh their power at ſea, ſend out for their annoyance Thraſybulus the Styrenſian with forty ſhips. He was now at ſea, but purſued not the auxiliary ſquadron for Rhodes; judging, that he could not eaſily hurt the friends of the Lacedæmonians who were poſſeſſed of a fortified place, and had Teleutias ready with his fleet to protect them; and that neither were the Athenians in danger of being reduced by their enemies, as they had poſſeſſion of cities far ſuperior in number, and had beat them in field of battle. He ſailed therefore to the Helleſpont, and no enemy appearing he was intent on performing ſome notable ſervice for the State. In the firſt place therefore, having received intelligence, that a rupture had happened between Amadocus King of the Odryſians and Scuthes who poſſeſſed the ſea-coaſt of Thrace, he reconciled them to one another, and made both of them friends and confederates to the Athenians; concluding, that when theſe princes were in friendſhip, the Greek cities in Thrace would, even though againſt their inclinations, pay higher regard to the Athenians. All being now right in thoſe cities, as well as in the cities of Aſia, becauſe the King was in friendſhip with the

the Athenians, he proceeded to Byzantium, and put to ſale the *tenth* of the ſhips from Pontus. He alſo obliged the Byzantines to change their oligarchical government into a democracy, ſo that the people of Byzantium now beheld without chagrin the great number of Athenians at preſent in the city. Having done theſe things, and alſo made friends of the Chalcedonians, he ſailed out of the Helleſpont. But though he found in Lesbos that all the cities except Mitylene were in the Lacedæmonian intereſt, he let them alone till he had been at Mitylene, where he ſettled four hundred perſons from on board his fleet, and all ſuch exiles from the other cities as had taken refuge there. Then taking ſuch of the Mitylenæans as were beſt qualified for the ſervice, and inſpiring proper hopes into all, — into the Mitylenæans, that if he reduced the cities, they ſhould be maſters of the whole iſle of Leſbos; — into the exiles, that if they would go with him to each city, they would all of them be of courſe enabled to recover their former ſtate; — and into thoſe who went on board his fleet, that would they make all Leſbos friends to Mitylene, they muſt neceſſarily acquire abundance of wealth; — with theſe exhortations and their united ſtrength he led them againſt Methymne. Therimachus, who commanded there for the Lacedæmonians, no ſooner knew of the approach of Thraſybulus than he ordered all the mariners on ſhore, with whom and the Methymnæans and the exiles from Mitylene now at Methymne he marched out and met him on the frontier. A battle enſued, in which Therimachus is ſlain; and the reſt flying, a great ſlaughter is made of them. After this, he brought over ſome of the cities, and he plundered the territories of ſuch as did not come in, and ſupplied his ſoldiers with pay. He was now in a hurry to get to Rhodes; but in order to put the troops into higher ſpirits, he collected contributions from other cities; and, proceeding to Aſpendus, he anchored in the river Eurymedon. He had

Year before Chriſt, 389

had received their contribution from the Aſpendians when his
Thraſybulus *killed.* ſoldiers did ſome damage on their lands. The Aſpendians growing angry at it, and falling upon him in the night, kill him in his tent. In this manner Thraſybulus, a man of ſo great accompliſhments, ended his days. The Athenians however, having choſen Argyrius for his ſucceſſor, ſent him to the fleet.

Anaxibius. The Lacedæmonians hearing now, that the *tenth* of the ſhips from Pontus had been ſold by the Athenians at Byzantium, that they are maſters of Chalcedon, and that the other Helleſpontine cities having the friendſhip of Pharnabazus were in a ſafe ſituation, ſaw plainly, that all their care was needful. They had no reaſon however to blame Dercyllidas; and yet Anaxibius, who was favoured by the Ephori, ſolicited ſucceſsfully for himſelf, and was ſent out to be commandant of Abydus. Nay, would they give him money and ſhipping, he promiſed to carry on the war againſt the Athenians, and ſtop their career of proſperity in the Helleſpont. Having aſſigned him therefore three triremes and pay for a thouſand foreigners, they ſent Anaxibius to ſea. He was no ſooner arrived, than he drew together by land his number of foreign troops; he forced over ſome cities from Pharnabazus; and as the latter with the aid of the other cities had invaded the territories of Abydus, he returned the invaſion, marched againſt them, and laid waſte their country. Then doubling the number of ſhips he brought by manning out three more at Abydus, he fetched into that harbour whatever veſſel belonging to the Athenians or their confederates he could catch at ſea.

Iphicrates. The Athenians, informed of this, and afraid leſt all the fine diſpoſitions Thraſybulus had made in Helleſpont ſhould be quite ruined, ſend out Iphicrates with eight ſhips and about twelve hundred targeteers. The greateſt number of the latter were the ſame whom he commanded at Corinth: for when the Argives

had made Corinth Argos, they ſaid they had no farther need of of them. Iphicrates, in fact, had killed ſome perſons who had been in the Argive intereſt, and on that account withdrew to Athens, and lived retired. But when he was arrived at the Cherſoneſus, Iphicrates and Anaxibius at firſt carried on a piratical war againſt one another. But in proceſs of time, Iphicrates perceiving, that Anaxibius was marched againſt Antandros with his foreign troops and what Lacedæmonians he had and two hundred heavy-armed Abydenians; and hearing farther, that he had gained Antandros by compoſition; he ſuſpected, that after ſettling a garriſon there, he would return the ſame way and bring back the Abydenians to their own city. He therefore paſſed over by night into the leaſt frequented part of the territory of Abydus, and marching up into the mountains he placed an ambuſcade. He ordered the triremes that brought him over to keep cruizing at day-light along the Cherſoneſus, that it might be judged he was then upon his uſual employ of fetching in contributions. Having made theſe diſpoſitions, every thing fell out juſt as he expected. For Anaxibius was now on his return, even though the victims at his morning ſacrifice were inauſpicious. But this he diſregarded, ſince he was to march through a friendly country, and was going to a friendly city. And when he heard beſides from perſons he met that Iphicrates was ſailed towards Proconneſus, he marched with more negligence than before. So long however as the troops of Anaxibius were upon the ſame level ground with himſelf, Iphicrates roſe not from his ambuſcade. But ſo ſoon as the Abydenians, who had the van, were got down into the plain near Cremaſtes, where are the mines of gold, and the reſt of the troops were deſcending the mountain, and Anaxibius with his Lacedæmonians was juſt at the deſcent, that moment Iphicrates ſtarts up from his place of ambuſh, and runs full ſpeed towards him. Anaxibius knowing there was no poſſibility of eſcape, as he ſaw his troops

were

in a narrow road and extended in a long line forwards, as he judged that thoſe who were gone on could not readily remount the aſcent to his aid, and ſaw plainly that they were all in a panic on the appearance of the ambuſcade, he ſaid to thoſe who were near him —— "It is my duty, Sirs, to die on this very ſpot; "but do you make the beſt of your way to a place of ſafety, "before the enemy can charge you." He ſaid theſe words, and then ſnatching his ſhield from the perſon that carried it, he fights and is ſlain on the ſpot. A favorite-boy ſtood by him to the laſt, and about twelve of the Lacedæmonian commandants of cities, who were in his company, fought and died with him. All the reſt fled, and were ſlaughtered in their flight. They purſued them to Abydus. Of the other troops about two hundred were ſlain, and about fifty of the Abydenian heavy-armed. But after this exploit, Iphicrates returned again to the Cherſoneſus.

Anaxibius *killed.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF The AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

CONTENTS.

Fine conduct of Teleutias. — *The peace of Antalcidas.* — *The Mantinean War.* — *The Olynthian War, and surprisal of the citadel of Thebes by Phœbidas.* — *Phlius besieged and reduced by Agesilaus.* — *The famous and successful plot for recovering Thebes.* — *War between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians.*

THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BOOK V.

THIS was the ſtate of the war between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians in the Helleſpont.

The people of Ægina had for a long time kept up intercourſe with the Athenians. But now, as war was again openly renewed at ſea, Eteonicus, who was again in Ægina, impowered them, with the joint conſent of the Ephori, to plunder Attica at pleaſure. The Athenians, blocked up by them, ſent over a body of heavy-armed commanded by Pamphilus into Ægina, to inveſt them with a work of circumvallation, blocking them thus up at land, and with ten ſhips at ſea. Teleutias however, who happened about this time to be going round the iſlands to collect money, having received intelligence of the throwing up this circumvallation, came away to aſſiſt the Æginetæ. He indeed

Year before Chriſt, 388. Ægina *invaded.*

drove off the ſhips, but Pamphilus kept faſt poſſeſſion of the work on ſhore.

Teleutias *recalled.*

But now Hierax arriveth from Lacedæmon to be admiral of the fleet, and accordingly receiveth the command. Teleutias departed for Sparta, and in as happy a manner as his own heart could wiſh. For when, upon the point of departure, he went down to the water-ſide, the whole ſoldiery crowded about him to ſhake him by the hand. One was crowning him with a garland, another adorning him with fillets; and ſuch as came too late, and found him already under ſail, threw their garlands into the ſea after him, and prayed heaven to bleſs him in all his undertakings. I am ſenſible indeed, that in relating ſuch incidents I give no ſhining proof of munificence, bravery, or fine conduct. But by heaven I think it worth any man's while to reflect, by what methods Teleutias had thus gained the hearts of thoſe whom he commanded. For ſuch behavior better deſerveth our admiration, than any acquiſition of wealth or conqueſt.

Hierax *commands at ſea.*

Hierax with the reſt of the fleet, ſailed again to Rhodes; but he left twelve ſhips at Ægina under the command of his lieutenant Gorgopas. The conſequence was, that the Athenian troops were more cloſely blocked up in their own circumvallation, than their countrymen were in Athens; inſomuch that five months after the Athenians, having by expreſs decree man'd out a large number of ſhips, fetched off the people on this ſervice, and carried them back to Athens. And yet after this they were ſadly infeſted a ſecond time by the plunderers from Ægina and by Gorgopas too. They therefore man out againſt the latter thirteen ſhips, and elect Eunomus to take upon him the command of them.

Antalcidas *made admiral in chief.*

Hierax being ſtill at Rhodes, the Lacedæmonians ſend out Antalcidas to be admiral in chief; judging that by giving this commiſſion to Antalcidas they ſhould moſt ſenſibly oblige Teribazus.

Antalcidas, when he came to Ægina, took away with him the ſhips under Gorgopas, and proceeded to Epheſus. But from thence he ſends back Gorgopas with the twelve ſhips to his former ſtation at Ægina, and gave the command of the reſt to his own lieutenant Nicolochus. Nicolochus ſet ſail from Epheſus to go and aſſiſt the citizens of Abydus. But in his paſſage landing upon Tenedos he laid the country waſte, and after getting a ſum of money he ſtood away from thence to Abydus. The Athenian commanders, collecting what ſtrength they could from Samothracia and Thaſus and the adjacent places, repaired to the aſſiſtance of the Tenedians. But when they found that Nicolochus was already gone away to Abydus, they put to ſea from the Cherſoneſus, and with two and thirty ſail of their own blocked him up in Abydus as he had but twenty-five. Gorgopas, in the mean time, repaſſing from Epheſus, falls in with Eunomus; and ſheering off at firſt reached the iſland of Ægina a little before ſun-ſet. He immediately landed his men, and ordered them to eat their ſuppers: but Eunomus after a little ſtay ſheered off. It was now dark night; he therefore led the way with his own ſhip which carried a light, as is the practice at ſea, that the ſquadron might not diſperſe. But Gorgopas, having again got his men on board, followed after him by direction of the light, keeping at a proper diſtance that he might not be perceived, and to prevent all alarm ordering the maſters not to ſhout aloud, but to drop ſtones for their ſignals, and all oars to be gently moved: but ſo ſoon as the ſhips of Eunomus had made land near Zoſter in Attica, he ordered the trumpets to ſound and to fall in amongſt them. The crews belonging to the ſhips of Eunomus were ſome of them already on ſhore, ſome of them were this moment landing, and ſome were ſtill drawing to land. A battle was fought by moonlight; and in it Gorgopas taketh four of the enemy's ſhips, which he faſtened to his own, and returned with them

Gorgopas.

them in tow to Ægina; but the other Athenian ſhips of this ſquadron fled for ſhelter into the Piræus.

Chabrias. Chabrias after this was ſailing out to Cyprus to the aid of Evagoras, having with him eight hundred targeteers and ten ſhips. But taking out at the ſame time from Athens other ſhips and ſome heavy-armed, he landed by night on the iſle of Ægina, and with his targeteers ſat down in ambuſcade in a hollow a good way beyond the temple of Hercules. So ſoon as it was day, as had been previouſly agreed, the heavy-armed from Athens came aſhore under the command of Dimænetus, and marched likewiſe about ſixteen *ſtadia* beyond the temple to the place called Tripyrgia. Gorgopas, having heard it, ran down with the Æginetæ, with the ſoldiers of his own ſquadron, and the eight Spartans who happened to be with him. He left orders for all perſons belonging to the ſquadron who were free men to follow, ſo that numbers of them were approaching, each provided with ſuch a weapon as he could get. When the firſt party had paſſed by the ambuſcade, Chabrias ſtarts up with his targeteers, who immediately attacked and galled them with javelins. The heavy-armed, who had laſt landed, charged them at the ſame time. And thus this firſt party, as they were few in number, were immediately ſlain, amongſt whom was Gorgopas and the Lacedæmonians. When theſe were killed, all the reſt turned about and fled. Of the Æginetæ there periſhed about an hundred and fifty, and not leſs than two hundred of the ſtrangers and ſojourners and mariners, who had run together for aid.

Teleutias ſent again to the fleet. The Athenians after this ranged the ſea as quietly as in the midſt of peace: for the ſeamen paid no regard to Eteonicus, tho' he would have compelled them to go on board, ſince he had no money to pay them. But now again the Lacedæmonians ſend Teleutias to command as admiral in chief. The ſoldiers, when they ſaw him arrive, were rejoiced above meaſure. He immediately called them together, and harangued them thus:

"Here

Speech of Teleutias.

" Here I am again, my fellow-ſoldiers, but bring no money " with me. And yet, with the bleſſing of heaven and your " hearty concurrence, I will endeavor to provide abundantly every " article that you can need. Be aſſured within yourſelves, that " ſo long as I am in command, I pray for your comfortable ſub- " ſiſtance no leſs than for my own. And perhaps it may ſur- " priſe you to hear me ſay, that I had rather want bread myſelf " than ſee you want it. But by the Gods I would rather chuſe " to be without food two days together, than you ſhould be with- " out it one. My door in the former parts of my command was " conſtantly open to any one that wanted me, and ſhall be open " now. Inſomuch that, when you are enjoying plenty and " abundance, you ſhall then ſee my table too more plentifully " provided. But again, when you behold me enduring cold and " heat and want of ſleep, remember that you are bound in duty " to endure them with me. I would not ſubject you to any " hardſhips of this nature merely to give you pain, but in order " to put it in your power to reap an higher good. The com- " munity of which we are members, my fellow-ſoldiers, and " an happy community it is, hath attained, you well know, the " large ſhare of happineſs with which it is bleſt, not by habitual " ſloth, but by an alacrity to endure every toil and every danger " for the public welfare. You, I know it by long experience, " were formerly good men: and now it behoves you to approve " yourſelves better man than ever, that we may unite with plea- " ſure in every toil, and unite with pleaſure too in the enjoyment " of every ſucceſs. What thing on earth can be ſo ſweet, as to " cajole no man neither Greek nor Barbarian for a precarious pay, " but to be able to earn our own ſubſiſtence, and that too by the " moſt glorious methods? For in time of war affluence at the " coſt of our foes, be ye well aſſured, is the fineſt proviſion men " can make for themſelves, as it is the admiration of all mankind."

In

In this manner Teleutias ſpoke. The whole aſſembly ſhouted aloud upon him to iſſue his orders, ſince they were ready to obey. He next performed the ſolemn ſacrifice, and then ſaid to them — "Depart now, my honeſt ſouls, and eat your ſuppers as uſual; "then prepare for yourſelves one day's proviſion. This done, "repair hither immediately, that we may go whither heaven "invites us, and arrive in time." When they were all returned, he ordered them on board, and ſet ſail by night for the harbour of Athens. Sometimes he ſlackened his courſe, and ordered them to take a little reſt, then he advanced faſter by plying the oars. But in caſe any one blames him on this occaſion, for going out imprudently with only twelve ſhips againſt a people poſſeſſed of ſuch numerous ſhipping, let ſuch an one reflect on the judicious motives on which he acted. He concluded, that as Gorgopas was killed, he ſhould find the Athenians keeping little or no guard at all in the harbour; and though the ſhips of war ſhould be lying there at anchor, he thought it ſafer to attack twenty of them in harbour than ten of them out at ſea. When they were on a cruize, he knew that the ſeamen lay conſtantly on board the veſſels; but at Athens, he was aſſured that the captains of the ſhips always went home to bed, and the ſeamen too had lodgings on ſhore. It was on theſe conſiderations that he engaged in this attempt.

He ſurpriſes the Piræus.

When he was advanced within five or ſix *ſtadia* of the harbour, he made all ſtop quietly, and reſt themſelves for a time. But at break of day he led the way into the harbour, and the reſt followed. He would not ſuffer any of his own ſhips to ſink or to damage the trading veſſels; but if they ſaw a ſhip of war any where at anchor, he ordered them to diſable her for ſea, and to faſten all the trading veſſels and ſuch as had cargoes on board, and tow them out to ſea; to ſearch alſo the larger ſhips, and make all perſons priſoners whom they found on board. Nay, ſome

ſome of his people even leaped on ſhore on the Quay, and laying hold on ſome merchants and maſters of veſſels carried them on board their own ſhips.

In this manner Teleutias ſucceſsfully conducted the buſineſs. Such of the Athenians as were within the houſes ran out to learn the meaning of the noiſe; ſuch of them as were out of doors ran home for their arms, whilſt ſome were poſting up to the city with the news. All Athenians, as well the heavy-armed as the horſemen, were now marching down in arms, as if the Piræus was taken. But Teleutias ſent away his prizes to Ægina, and ordered three or four of his ſhips to accompany them thither. With the remainder he proceeded along the Attic coaſt, and in ſtanding out of the harbour he took a great number of fiſhing-boats, and the ferries full of paſſengers coming in from the iſlands. When he was got up to the cape of Sunium he alſo took ſome veſſels laden with corn, and ſome with merchandiſe. After theſe captures he ſailed back to Ægina; and diſpoſing of his ſpoils by public ſale, he advanced a month's ſubſiſtance to his men. Nay, he afterwards continued his cruizes, and made prize of every thing he could. By acting in this manner he kept his ſhips full man'd, and preſerved the chearful and prompt obedience of all his people.

It was at this time that Antalcidas in the company of Teribazus returned from the King. He had ſo conducted his negotiations, as to be aſſured of the King's future concurrence with the Lacedæmonians, if the Athenians and confederates did not acquieſce in the peace which he himſelf had propoſed. But when he heard that Nicolochus with his ſquadron was blocked up in Abydus by Iphicrates and Diotimus, he went by land to Abydus. Reſuming there the command of the fleet, he went out to ſea by night, having ſcattered a report that he was ſent for by the Chalcedonians. But he went only into the harbour of Percope, where quietly he

Proceedings of Antalcidas.

Year before Chriſt, 387.

ſtationed his ſhips. His departure was perceived by Dimænetus and Dionyſius and Leontichus and Phanias, who immediately went in purſuit after him towards Proconeſus. And when they had clearly paſſed beyond him, Antalcidas returned and came again to Abydus. For he heard, that Polyxenus was coming thither with twenty ſail from Syracuſe and Italy; and his deſign was now to join them to his own.

After this, Thraſybulus of Colyttus ſet ſail from Thrace with eight ſhips to join the reſt of the Athenian fleet. But Antalcidas, when the centinels made a ſignal that eight ſhips were in ſight, ſending the ſeamen on board twelve of his prime ſailors, and ordering their crews to be compleated out of the reſt of the ſhips, lay on the watch as much out of view as poſſible. When they had ſailed by, he began a purſuit; they ſaw him, and fled. He ſoon reached their ſloweſt veſſels with the ſwifteſt of his own; but he had ordered ſuch as came up firſt with them, not to meddle with the hindermoſt veſſels of the enemy, but to purſue the foremoſt in flight. And ſo ſoon as he had taken theſe, the hindermoſt ſeeing their leaders were taken, were ſo diſpirited that they became eaſy captures to the ſlower veſſels of the enemy, and every ſhip was taken.

Antalcidas farther, when the twenty ſhips from Syracuſe came up to him, and all the ſhips of which Teribazus was maſter had alſo joined him from Ionia;——the latter were man'd out of the dominions of Ariobarzanes; for Teribazus by the ties of hoſpitality had long been connected with Ariobarzanes, and Pharnabazus was now by invitation gone up to the royal court, where he married the King's daughter;——Antalcidas, I ſay, by the junction of theſe ſhips which were more than eighty in number, rode maſter of the ſea; inſomuch that he ſtop'd the navigation of all veſſels from Pontus to Athens, and carried them off to the confederates of the Lacedæmonians.

The

The Athenians now, who ſaw the enemy's ſhips ſo numerous, were highly alarmed, leſt they ſhould be war'd down as they were before, now that the King was become a confederate with the Lacedæmonians, and they were blocked up at home by the plunderers from Ægina. For theſe reaſons they were ſincerely deſirous of a peace. Year before Chriſt, 386. *Peace deſired at* Athens.

On the other ſide the Lacedæmonians, who kept a brigade in garriſon at Lecheum, and another brigade at Orchomenus; who beſides were keeping a conſtant guard over the cities firmly attached to them leſt they ſhould be taken, and over ſuch as they were diffident of leſt they ſhould revolt; who farther were harraſſed and harraſſing with ſucceſſive hoſtilities about Corinth, were ſadly tired of the war. *At* Sparta.

The Argives farther, who found that an expedition was proclaimed againſt them, and were ſenſible that their inſiſting on the computation of the months would avail them nothing, began alſo heartily to wiſh for peace. *At* Argos.

Hence it was, that when Teribazus iſſued out the notification, that all States, who were deſirous of a peace on the terms which the King preſcribes, ſhould aſſemble together, they were all ſoon aſſembled. And now in the preſence of them all, Teribazus, having firſt ſhewed them the King's ſignet, read aloud to them the contents of his Mandate, as followeth: *The King's Mandate.*

" Artaxerxes the King thinks it juſt, that the cities in Aſia " and the two iſles of Clazomenæ and Cyprus ſhould be his " own; but, that all the reſt of the Grecian cities, both ſmall " and great, ſhould be left free and independent, except Lemnos " and Imbros and Sciros; theſe, as formerly, to continue in ſub- " jection to the Athenians. And whatever people refuſeth this " peace, I myſelf, with ſuch as receive it, ſhall make war againſt " that people, both by land and ſea, both with ſhips and with " money."

The peace of Antalcidas.

The embaſſadors from the ſeveral States, having heard this mandate, ſent their report of it to their conſtituents. All the reſt ſwore abſolutely to the obſervance of it, but the Thebans inſiſted upon taking the oath in the name of all the Bœotians. Ageſilaus poſitively refuſed to admit their oath, unleſs they ſwore according to the letter of the King's mandate, that "every city "ſmall and great ſhall be left free and independent." The Theban embaſſadors urged in return, they were not impowered to do it. "Go then, ſaid Ageſilaus, and conſult your principals. "But tell them at the ſame time from me, that if they do not "comply they ſhall be excluded the peace." Accordingly the embaſſadors departed.

The Thebans compelled to accept it.

Ageſilaus, becauſe of his long inveteracy againſt the Thebans, loſt no time, but with the approbation of the Ephori ſacrificed immediately. And ſo ſoon as the victims had a favorable appearance, he paſſed the frontiers to Tegea. He ſent his horſemen to ſummon in the neighboring troops; he ſent commanders round to the ſeveral States. But before he could march from Tegea the Thebans were with him, profeſſing that they would leave the cities free and independent. And thus the Lacedæmonians returned home, and the Thebans were obliged to accept the peace and to leave the cities of Bœotia in freedom and independence.

On another ſide the Corinthians would not diſmiſs the garriſon of Argives. But Ageſilaus ſent a notification to the Corinthians "that if they did not ſend away the Argives," and to the Argives "that if they did not evacuate Corinth, he would make "war upon them." This menace affrighted them both, and the Argives accordingly marched out, and Corinth became again the city of the Corinthians. The authors of the maſſacre indeed and their accomplices of their own accord withdrew from the city; but the other citizens readily gave a re-eſtabliſhment to the former exiles.

When

When theſe points were ſettled, and the States had ſworn to the peace which the King preſcribed, all the land-armies were diſbanded, and all the naval forces were diſbanded too. And thus at length the firſt peace was ratified in form betweeen the Lacedæmonians and Athenians and confederates after the war between them ſubſequent to the demolition of the walls of Athens. But though through the whole courſe of the war the ſcale had generally turned in favor of the Lacedæmonians, yet they made a greater figure than ever through this peace, which took its name from Antalcidas. For now, aſſuming the execution of the peace preſcribed by the King, and inſiſting that the cities ſhould be free, they recovered the alliance of Corinth; they ſet the cities of Bœotia at liberty from the Thebans, a point which they had long deſired; they had put an end to that appropriation which the Argives had made of Corinth by declaring war againſt them unleſs they evacuated that city. All theſe points being accompliſhed to their wiſh, they now came to a determination to chaſtiſe ſuch of their confederates as had been intractable during the war, and manifeſted any good-will to their enemies; and to order them ſo now, that they ſhould not dare to be refractory in time to come.

In the firſt place therefore they ſent to the Mantineans, commanding them "to demoliſh their walls;" affirming that "no-"thing leſs could convince them they would not take ſide with "their enemies." They added, that "they well knew how "they had ſupplied the Argives with corn during the late war; "and ſometimes, on pretext of truces, had refuſed to march "with them againſt the enemy; and, even when they did march, "were intent on doing them more hurt than good." They told them farther "they were well convinced, how much they en-"vied them upon every incident of ſucceſs, and how heartily "they rejoiced if any calamity befell them." A declaration wa-

Years before Chriſt, 385-384. The Mantinean war.

alſ

alſo made, that "the truce with the Mantineans for thirty years "agreed upon after the battle of Mantinea expired this preſent "year." But as the Mantineans refuſed to demoliſh their walls, the Lacedæmonians proclaim an expedition againſt them.

Ageſilaus on this occaſion petitioned the State to excuſe his commanding the army; alledging that "the Mantinean com-"munity had done many good ſervices to his Father in the war "againſt Meſſene." Ageſipolis therefore led out the army, notwithſtanding that his Father Pauſanias too had always been in high friendſhip with the moſt popular men of Mantinea. So ſoon as he had entered the country, in the firſt place he laid it waſte. But as even yet they refuſed to demoliſh their walls, he dug a trench in circle quite round the city, one moiety of the army ſitting down before the city with the arms of thoſe who were digging, whilſt the other moiety carried on the work. When the trench was finiſhed, he alſo erected without moleſtation a circular wall quite round the city. But finding there was abundance of corn within the place, as the laſt year had been a ſeaſon of great plenty; and thinking, it would be judged an hardſhip to harraſs both the Lacedæmonians and the confederate troops with a tedious ſiege, he dam'd up the river, and a very large one it is, that runs through the city. The chanel being thus dam'd up, the water ſwelled above the foundations of the houſes and the city-walls. The lower brickwork was ſoon rotted by the wet and ſhrunk under the upper buildings, by which means the city-walls cracked, and afterwards were ready to tumble. For ſome time they under-prop'd them with timber, and made uſe of all their art to keep them from falling. But when they found they muſt be overpowered by the water, and were afraid leſt a breach being made by the tumbling of any part of the wall they ſhould be taken ſword in hand, they at length offered to demoliſh their walls. The Lacedæmonians refuſed to accept this condition

condition now, unleſs they would alſo ſettle in villages. The Mantineans, judging there was no avoiding it, agreed to comply. But to ſuch of them, as from their long connection with the Argives and their great influence over the people feared they ſhould be put to death, Ageſipolis at the earneſt requeſt of his Father granted their lives (and they were ſixty in number) in caſe they withdrew themſelves from Mantinea. On both ſides of the road, beginning from the very gates of Mantinea, the Lacedæmonians ranged themſelves with their ſpears in their hands, to take a view of ſuch as were withdrawing; and, though they hated them, yet refrained themſelves from any abuſe much eaſier than did the oligarchical party at Mantinea. But be this only mentioned as a ſignal proof of their habitual obedience to their commanders.

After this the walls were demoliſhed, and the Mantinean country was now ſettled in four villages, in the ſame manner as it had been formerly inhabited. At firſt, it is true, the Mantineans were highly diſſatisfied, when thus obliged to pull down the houſes they had built for their own convenience, and to erect new ones. But when the wealthier of them were ſettled on their eſtates which lay round the villages, when they were ruled by an ariſtocracy and rid of their turbulent demagogues, they grew delighted with the change. And the Lacedæmonians ſent them, not indeed one perſon to command the troops of the four, but a ſeparate commander to every village. They afterwards marched upon ſummons from the villages with more chearfulneſs than they had ever done when under a democratical government. And in this manner were things brought about in regard to Mantinea, mankind having learned one piece of wiſdom by it, never to let a river run through their walls.

The exiles from Phlius, perceiving the Lacedæmonians were now examining into the behavior of their ſeveral confederates during the war, thought it the proper ſeaſon to apply for themſelves. Year before Chriſt, 383. The exiles from Phlius

ſelves. They went to Lacedæmon, and repreſented there, that "ſo long as *they* were in Phlius, the citizens received the Lace-"dæmonians within their walls, and marched in their company "wherever they led them. But no ſooner had the *people* of "Phlius ejected *them*, than they abſolutely denied to march at "their ſummons, and refuſed to the Lacedæmonians alone of "all men living admittance into their city." When the *Ephori* had heard this repreſentation, they judged it deſerving of their attention. They ſent therefore to the State of Phlius, remonſtrating that "the exiles were friends to the Lacedæmonian "community, and for no offence at all had been exiled their "country." They inſiſted upon it therefore "as a point of "juſtice, that without compulſion and by mere voluntary act "they ſhould grant the reſtoration of theſe exiles." The Phliaſians, having heard all this, conceived a ſuſpicion, that ſome of their own citizens might open the gates, ſhould the Lacedæmonians march againſt them. For many relations of theſe exiles were now in the city, who beſide their natural good-will toward them were deſirous (as is generally the caſe in moſt communities) to work ſome change in the ſociety, and were very eager for the recall of the exiles. Moved therefore by ſuch apprehenſions, they paſſed a decree for the re-admiſſion of the exiles, "all their real "eſtates to be immediately reſtored, and the value of ſuch as had "been ſold to be returned to the purchaſers out of the public "treaſure; and, in caſe any diſpute aroſe, the point to be deter-"mined by due courſe of law." Theſe reſolutions were carried at this time in favor of the exiles from Phlius.

Year before Chriſt, 382. *The* Olynthian *War.*

Embaſſadors were now arrived at Lacedæmon from Acanthus and Apollonia, which are the largeſt cities in the neighborhood of Olynthus. The Ephori, having been informed of the reaſon of their coming, introduced them into a grand aſſembly of themſelves and the confederates, where Cligenes the Acanthian ſpoke as followeth:

"Lace-

Speech of Cligenes.

" Lacedæmonians and ye their confederates, an event of vaſt importance hath lately taken place in Greece, of which we ſuppoſe you are quite unapprized. There can however be very few amongſt you, who know not that Olynthus is the greateſt city on the coaſt of Thrace. Theſe Olynthians therefore have prevailed with ſome other cities to unite with them in point of laws and political adminiſtration: and then they took into their union ſome larger cities. After this they endeavored to free the cities of Macedonia from their ſubjection to Amyntas King of the Macedonians. Having ſucceeded with the neareſt of theſe cities, they proceeded with rapidity to do the ſame by the more diſtant and the larger. And when we came away, they were maſters of a great number of them, and even of Pella the capital of Macedonia. We have moreover intelligence, that Amyntas hath been forced ſucceſſively to quit his cities, and is only not driven out from the whole of Macedonia.

" To us Acanthians alſo and to the Apollonians theſe Olynthians have likewiſe notified their pleaſure, that unleſs we engage to act in confederacy with them, they will make war upon us. But for our parts, Lacedæmonians, we deſire ſtill to live under our own eſtabliſhed laws, and to perſevere as free as we have hitherto been. And yet, unleſs ſomebody condeſcends to aſſiſt us, we muſt of neceſſity ſubmit to their will and pleaſure. They are poſſeſſed at this very time of a body of heavy-armed not leſs than eight hundred, and of a body of targeteers in a much larger number; and their cavalry, if we ſhould be obliged to join them, will amount to more than a thouſand.

" We, farther, left behind us at Olynthus embaſſadors from the Athenians and Bœotians. And we hear, that the Olynthians are come to a reſolution to ſend back with them embaſſadors

" to theſe ſeveral States to perfect an alliance offenſive and de-
" fenſive. If therefore ſo great an acceſſion be made to the pre-
" ſent ſtrength of the Athenians and the Thebans, conſider,
" Lacedæmonians, whether you will find them for the future ſo
" tractable as they ought to be.

" Since, farther, they are already maſters of Potidæa on the
" iſthmus of Pallene, you muſt take it for granted, that all the
" cities within that iſthmus muſt of courſe ſubmit to the Olyn-
" thians. But one particular and unqueſtionable proof may be
" given you, that theſe cities already are moſt grievouſly alarmed.
" For though they bear an irreconcileable hatred to the Olyn-
" thians, yet they durſt not ſend embaſſadors along with us to
" join in repreſenting theſe things to you.

" Conſider again of how much inconſiſtence you muſt be
" guilty, if you, whoſe chief ſtudy it is to prevent the union of
" Bœotia, ſhould ſlight the conjunction of ſo great a power; a
" power, that will ſhew itſelf conſiderable indeed not only at
" land but even at ſea. For what can hinder the men from
" becoming ſo, who have timber of their own growth for the
" building of ſhips, who receive tribute from abundance of ſea-
" ports and from abundance of trading towns, and who from the
" fertility of their country abound in people? And more than
" this, the Thracians who have no King are their neareſt neigh-
" bors, and have already begun to pay great court to theſe Olyn-
" thians. And ſhould they ſubmit to receive their law, the
" latter will acquire a vaſt acceſſion of power by it. And by
" neceſſary conſequence it muſt follow, that they then will
" ſeize for their own the gold mines in the mountains of Pan-
" gæus.

" We tell you nothing here, but what hath been talked of a
" thouſand times by the people of Olynthus. And what need
" is there to add, how highly they are elevated upon it? The

" Author

" Author of our nature hath perhaps ſo framed mankind, that " their ambition muſt keep increaſing with their power.

" We are only, Lacedæmonians and Confederates, to make " you a juſt report of the preſent ſtate of affairs. It behoveth " you to conſider whether or no they deſerve your attention. " We are bound however to aſſure you of one important truth, " that the power of the Olynthians, be it actually as great as " we have repreſented, is not yet too mighty for reſiſtance. For " even the cities, which againſt their inclinations are at preſent " with them, will revolt the very moment an army taketh the " field againſt them. But if they enter into cloſer connexions " with them by intermarriages and reciprocal acquiſitions, which " are at preſent the points in agitation; and then grow convinced, " that it is moſt for their intereſt to adhere to the ſtrongeſt party " (as for inſtance the Arcadians, when they march with you, " preſerve what is their own, and plunder every body elſe), then " perhaps it may be impoſſible to reduce within due bounds this " growing power."

Theſe things being ſaid, the Lacedæmonians referred the conſideration of them to the confederates, and ordered them to conſult and report what they thought moſt conducive to the intereſt of Peloponneſus and the whole confederacy. And now a majority of them voted for the march of an army, thoſe eſpecially who had a mind to ingratiate themſelves with the Lacedæmonians. It was at length decreed, " to demand their quota's from the " ſeveral States to form a body of ten thouſand men." Clauſes were inſerted in the decree, that " inſted of men any State " might be at liberty to advance a ſum of money, three *oboles* * " of Ægina inſted of a man; and, if any furniſhed horſe, the " expence of every horſeman ſhould be deemed equivalent to " the pay of four of the heavy-armed. But if any refuſed to concur " in the ſervice, the Lacedæmonians are impowered to lay a fine

* *About ſix-pence* Engliſh.

" of a *ſlater* * a day upon them for every man." After theſe points were decreed, the Acanthians roſe up again and declared, that " theſe indeed were very fine decrees, but could not ſoon " be carried into execution." They ſaid therefore, " it would " be highly expedient, whilſt this force was aſſembling, to ſend " away immediately ſome proper perſon to command, at the " head of what troops could march at once from Lacedæmon " and any of the other States. For if this were done, the ci- " ties not yet gone over would ſtand their ground, and thoſe " already under compulſion would readily revolt." This propoſal being alſo approved, the Lacedæmonians ſend away Eudamidas, and with him the Spartans *newly enfranchiſed*, the troops of the *neighborhood*, and the Sciritæ, about two thouſand in all. Eudamidas however at his departure begged of the Ephori, that Phœbidas his brother might aſſemble the reſt of the army deſtined for this ſervice, and bring them up after him. As to himſelf, ſo ſoon as he arrived in Thrace, he ſent garriſons round to ſuch of the cities as petitioned for them, and by a voluntary ſurrender recovered Potidæa, which had been for a time confederate with the Olynthians. He afterwards marched from Potidæa to commence hoſtilities, which he conducted in the manner ſuitable to a commander who had the inferior force.

* 1 *l.* 9 *d.* Sterling.

So ſoon as the troops deſtined to follow Eudamidas were aſſembled in a body, Phœbidas put himſelf at their head, and began the march. On their arrival at Thebes, they encamped without the city near the Gymnaſium. The Thebans were now in ſedition, and Iſmenias and Leontiades were Generals of the State. Theſe two were enemies to one another, and each was at the head of his own faction. Iſmenias, who hated the Lacedæmonians, never once came near Phœbidas. But Leontiades abundantly careſſed him; and, when he had got his heart, addreſſed him thus:

" You

Speech of Leontiades.

" You have it, Phœbidas, this very day in your power to do " the higheſt ſervice to your country. If you will only follow " me with your heavy-armed, I will introduce you into the " citadel of Thebes. And the citadel once ſecured, aſſure your- " ſelf, that Thebes will be entirely in the power of the Lacedæ- " monians and of us your friends. A proclamation is already " gone out, you know it well, that no Theban ſhall march with " you againſt the Olynthians. But do you only execute what I " adviſe, and we will immediately ſend away with you a nu- " merous body of heavy-armed, and a numerous body of ca- " valry too. And thus with a formidable army you will march " up to reinforce your Brother; and before he can reduce Olyn- " thus, you yourſelf ſhall have reduced Thebes, a city of far " more importance than Olynthus."

The citadel of Thebes *ſurpriſed by* Phœbidas.

Phœbidas, having liſtened to him, was quite in a rapture. He was fonder of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by ſome grand exploit than of life itſelf. But then he was not a man that could reaſon far, nor remarkable for any depth of thought. He ſoon aſſented to the propoſal, and Leontiades bade him have his troops in motion, as if he had decamped and was for continuing his march. " I'll be with you again," ſaid Leontiades, " at the proper time, " and will conduct you myſelf." Whilſt therefore the ſenate was ſitting in conſultation in the portico of the Forum, becauſe the women were celebrating in the Cadmea the rites of Ceres, and ſcarce a creature could be ſeen in the ſtreets, ſince it was about noon in the heat of ſummer, Leontiades returneth on horſeback, makes Phœbidas file ſecretly off, and introduceth him into the citadel. Having thus put Phœbidas and his party in poſſeſſion of the place, given him the key of the gates, and injoined him to give no perſon admittance without a paſs from him, he went his way directly to the ſenate. He entered in, and ſaid:

I. " The

" The Lacedæmonians, Gentlemen, are in poſſeſſion of the " citadel, but let not that alarm you. They profeſs themſelves " enemies to no man who is not fond of war. But as General " of the State, and by virtue of the power lodged in me by the " laws to apprehend all traitors, I now apprehend this Iſmenias, " as a public enemy. And you, who are officers in the army, " and all of you whoſe duty it is, I order to ſecure him and " convey him you know whither."

The conſpirators were ready at hand, and obeyed it, and took Iſmenias into their cuſtody. But ſuch as knew nothing of the plot, and were of the oppoſite party to Leontiades, fled ſome of them immediately out of the city, being afraid for their lives; whilſt others withdrew at firſt to their own homes; but hearing afterwards that Iſmenias was made priſoner in the Cadmea, all thoſe who were of the ſame party with Androclides and Iſmenias, to the number of four hundred perſons, made the beſt of their way to Athens.

When theſe things were done, they choſe another General in the room of Iſmenias. But Leontiades ſet out immediately for Lacedæmon. He found there the Ephori and every citizen of Sparta in high indignation againſt Phæbidas for having preſumed to act in this manner without conſulting the State. Ageſilaus, it is true, repreſented that " if he had acted to the public detri- " ment, he ought to be puniſhed; but if he had ſerved the " public, it was an old eſtabliſhed Law, that his own good in- " tentions ſufficiently authorized him. We ſhould therefore " conſider firſt, ſaid he, whether what hath been done hath " been ſerviceable to the State or not." Leontiades however, being introduced on his arrival to the Council of State, ſpoke thus:

Speech of Leontiades.

" Your own ſelves, Lacedæmonians, have for ever been de- " claring that the Thebans were your conſtant enemies, even be- " fore the laſt tranſactions. You have for ever ſeen them exerting

" their

" their friendſhip towards your foes, and exerting their enmity
" againſt your friends. Did they not refuſe to march with you
" againſt the Athenian *people*, your implacable enemy, when
" they had ſeized the Piræus? And did they not make war
" againſt the Phocians, merely becauſe the latter were benevo-
" lently inclined to you? Nay, no ſooner had they learned that
" you were going to make war upon the Olynthians, than they
" ſtruck up a confederacy with them. Time was you were at-
" tentive to all their motions, and alarmed at hearing they were
" extending their power in Bœotia. But all alarms are now at
" an end; you no longer have any reaſon to fear the Thebans.
" Henceforth a ſmall *Scytale* will ſuffice to keep every thing there
" in all regular and needful obedience to yourſelves, provided you
" ſhew the ſame zeal for us as we have manifeſted for you."

Iſmenias put to death.

After hearing him, the Lacedæmonians decreed " to keep
" faſt poſſeſſion of the citadel now that it was ſeized, and to pro-
" ceed to the trial of Iſmenias." Their next ſtep was, to ſend judges to try him, three from Lacedæmon, and one from every State as well ſmall as great in the Lacedæmonian league. When theſe judges were aſſembled, and had taken their ſeats in court, an accuſation was preferred againſt Iſmenias, that " he was in
" the intereſt of Barbarians, and had entered into the hoſpi-
" table ties with the *Perſian* with no good deſign in regard
" to Greece; that he had received a ſhare of the money from
" the King; and that he and Androclides were principal authors
" of all the confuſion in Greece." He made his defence againſt every part of the accuſation, but could not convince his judges, that he had not been a very intriguing and miſchievous man. He was accordingly condemned to die, and ſuffereth death. The faction of Leontiades continued now to be maſters of Thebes, and outſtripped command in the officiouſneſs of their zeal to ſerve the Lacedæmonians.

After

Olynthian War.

After theſe things were brought about, the Lacedæmonians with much more alacrity than ever ſent away the army againſt Olynthus. They give the command of this army to Teleutias, and all the States furniſhed their quota's towards ten thouſand men to march away with him, and *Scytales* were circulated to the confederate cities ordering them to obey Teleutias according to the decree of the confederates. Each ſeparate people in the league with chearfulneſs accompanied Teleutias. They were ſure Teleutias would never be ungrateful to thoſe who did him any ſervice. And the Theban State, as he was the brother of Ageſilaus, ſent away with him heavy-armed and horſemen. Though in a hurry to reach his poſt yet he marched but ſlowly, always careful not to hurt any friends in his march and to enlarge his numbers as much as poſſible. He ſent meſſengers before him to Amyntas, and deſired him to hire a body of mercenaries, and to lay out his money among the neighboring kings to purchaſe their aid, if he really had a mind to recover his dominions. He ſent alſo to Derdas king of Elymia, admoniſhing him that the Olynthians had demoliſhed the greater power of Macedonia, and will not refrain from doing the ſame by a leſſer power, unleſs a ſtop be put to their inſolence. Acting in this manner, he arrived at length with a very numerous army on the lands of the confederacy. And when he had made his entry into Potidæa, he there marſhalled his troops, and then took the field. But, during his approach to Olynthus, he ſet nothing on fire, he committed no ravage; judging, that if he did ſuch things he ſhould embarraſs both his own approach and retreat. When he ſhould be marching back, he judged it would be the proper time to cut down the trees and block up the roads againſt the enemy that might follow his rear. When he was advanced within * ten *ſtadia* of Olynthus, he made the army halt. He was himſelf on the left; and thus it happened, that he appeared before the gates, through which

* *About a mile.*

the

the enemy ſallied. The reſt of the confederate-troops were drawn up on the right. He alſo poſted on the right the Lacedæmonian and Theban horſe and what Macedonian cavalry was at hand. He kept Derdas and his four hundred horſe on his own flank, becauſe he admired this body of horſe, and had a mind to compliment Derdas for joining him with ſo much alacrity. When the enemy was come out of Olynthus and had formed into order of battle under the wall, their cavalry cloſed firm together, and rode down on the Lacedæmonian and Bœotian horſe. They diſmounted Polycharmus the Lacedæmonian officer, gave him ſeveral wounds as he lay on the ground, and ſlew others; and at length compell the horſe in the right wing to fly. The horſe being thus firſt in flight, the foot alſo drawn up neareſt to them began to give way. The whole army was now in great danger of defeat, had not Derdas with his own cavalry rode up directly to the gates of Olynthus; and Teleutias with the left wing marched after him in excellent order. The Olynthian horſe had no ſooner perceived theſe motions, than they were afraid of being ſhut out of the town. They wheeled about therefore with all ſpeed, and came on a gallop towards the gates. And now Derdas ſlew a vaſt number of theſe horſemen as they were galloping by him. The infantry of the Olynthians retired into the city; and very few of them were killed, ſince they were ſo near the walls. But after a trophy was erected, and the victory remained with Teleutias, he retreated and cut down the trees.

When the campaign was over for the ſummer, he diſmiſſed the troops of Macedonia and thoſe of Derdas. The Olynthians however were making frequent excurſions againſt the cities confederate with the Lacedæmonians, carrying off much plunder and ſlaughtering the people. And very early in the ſucceeding ſpring, the Olynthian horſe, to the number of ſix hundred, had made an excurſion againſt Apollonia about noon, and were diſperſed plun- Year before Chriſt, 381.

dering about the country. That very morning Derdas with his own horſe had marched into Apollonia, where he ſtopped to refreſh himſelf and his men. When he beheld the enemy's incurſion, he made no buſtle at all. His horſes were ready; the riders were armed and mounted. And ſo ſoon as the Olynthians in a contemptuous manner entered the ſuburb, and rode up to the very gates of the town, he then ſallied out in excellent order. The Olynthians no ſooner ſaw him than they took to flight. And Derdas, when once at their backs, continued the purſuit and ſlaughter of them for * ninety *ſtadia*, till he had chaced them to the very walls of Olynthus. Derdas was ſaid this day to have ſlain eighty of their horſemen. From this time the enemy were obliged to keep more within their walls, and employ themſelves entirely in cultivating the ſmall tract of country that was yet in their power.

* *About nine miles.*

Some time after, when Teleutias was again in the field againſt the Olynthians, in order to demoliſh any tree yet ſtanding and to compleat the ruin of their country, the Olynthian horſe, who had ſallied out and came marching quietly forwards, paſſed the river that runs near the city, and then again kept quietly advancing towards the enemy's army. When Teleutias ſaw them, he was vexed at their aſſurance, and ordered Tlemonides who commanded the targeteers to march full ſpeed againſt them. But the Olynthians, when they ſaw the targeteers running forwards, wheeled about, retreated quietly, and repaſſed the river. The targeteers kept following in a very courageous manner, and like men who were driving fugitives before them paſſed the river too in purſuit. But here the Olynthian horſe, who judged they had now gotten them faſt, face about and attack them, and ſlew Tlemonides himſelf and more than an hundred of his men. Teleutias no ſooner ſaw this, than quite mad with anger he caught up his arms and led the heavy-armed towards them, ordering the

targeteers

targeteers and horſemen to continue the purſuit and loſe no ground. By this means many of the army, having unadviſedly continued the purſuit too near the walls, found a great difficulty in retreating again. They were galled with darts from the turrets; they were obliged to move off in the moſt diſorderly manner, guarding themſelves from the darts that came pouring upon them. And now the Olynthians ride down upon their horſe, and their targeteers made what haſte they could to aſſiſt them. At length the heavy-armed ſallied out, and charge the main-body of their enemy who were all in confuſion. And here Teleutias is killed fighting. He was no ſooner dead, than all about him gave way. No man any longer ſtood his ground. The whole army fled; ſome towards Spartolus; ſome towards Acanthus; ſome to Apollonia; but moſt of them to Potidæa. As thus they were fleeing different ways, the purſuit by as many different ways was continued after them, in which a vaſt number of men and indeed the very flower of this mighty army periſhed. Such dreadful calamities as theſe ſhould in my judgment be a leſſon to mankind to guard againſt anger; nay even when they are only to chaſtiſe their own domeſtics. For it frequently happens, that when maſters are too angry, they do more hurt to themſelves than to thoſe they want to puniſh. But to attack an enemy in the heat of anger and not with judgment, is the ſaddeſt fault of which we can be guilty. For anger foreſeeth no conſequences at all; whereas judgment conſidereth as much its own preſervation as doing harm to an enemy.

Teleutias killed.

When the news of this defeat was brought to the Lacedæmonians, they determined after mature conſultation to march up a conſiderable force, in order to damp the great exultation of the enemy, and leſt all hitherto done ſhould have been done in vain. Having thus determined, they ſend away Ageſipolis the King to take upon him the command, attended as Ageſilaus was in Aſia

Ageſipolis ſent to command.

by thirty *Spartans*. Many of the braveſt ſoldiers in the *neighborhood* of Sparta went out with him volunteers, as did thoſe ſtrangers diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Trophimi*, and the baſtards of the *Spartans*, a gallant party indeed and poſſeſſed of all the fine accompliſhments of Spartans. Volunteers farther from the confederates joined in the expedition, and the horſemen of Theſſaly who had a mind to recommend themſelves to the notice of Ageſipolis. Amyntas alſo and Derdas came in with more alacrity than ever. And Ageſipolis thus executing his commiſſion was marching againſt Olynthus.

The affair of Phlius.

The citizens of Phlius, who had been highly commended by Ageſipolis for their handſome and prompt contribution towards his expedition, began now to imagine, that as Ageſipolis was gone abroad, Ageſilaus would not take the field againſt them, ſince it was not probable that both Kings could at the ſame time be abſent from Sparta; and therefore in a very haughty manner they refuſed juſtice to the exiles lately reſtored. In vain did theſe exiles inſiſt, that all diſputes ſhould be determined before impartial judges, for they compelled them to ſubmit to the determinations of their own judges at Phlius. And when the returning exiles demanded — "What juſtice could be expected when the "very perſons who had injured them preſided in the courts?" they gave not the leaſt attention to them. The perſons therefore thus aggrieved go afterwards to Lacedæmon with accuſations againſt the city of Phlius. Some other Phliaſians alſo came with them, repreſenting that many of the citizens acknowledged the injuſtice of ſuch behavior. The Phliaſians were nettled at theſe proceedings, and laid a fine upon all thoſe who went to Lacedæmon without public authority. The perſons, on whom theſe fines were laid, were afraid to return home. They continued at Sparta, repreſenting that "the authors of all this violence were the ſame "perſons, who had driven them from their homes and excluded

"the

" the Lacedæmonians too. The very ſame perſons, who had " bought their effects and by violence refuſed to reſtore them, " had now exerted their influence to have a fine laid upon them " for repairing to Lacedæmon, that no one for the future might " preſume to go thither and report what was doing at Phlius." As this behavior of the Phliaſians was not to be juſtified, the Ephori proclaim an expedition againſt them. And Ageſilaus was not at all diſpleaſed with this reſolution of the State, ſince Podanemus, who with his family had been the *hoſpitable* friend of his father Archidemus, was in the number of the exiles who had returned, and Procles the ſon of Hipponicus had likewiſe been his own. So ſoon therefore as the ſacrifices were auſpicious, he dallied not, but began his march. Many embaſſies met him, and offered him money to ſtop. His anſwer was, " he was now in the " command, not to commit injuſtice himſelf, but to vindicate " the oppreſſed." The laſt embaſſy of all declared " they would " ſubmit to any conditions, provided he would not enter their " country." He replied that " he could put no truſt in meer " ſpeeches; they had already broken their words; he could truſt " to nothing but a poſitive act." Being now aſked, what act he meant? he anſwered, " the very ſame you did once before, " and received no damage at all from us by doing it." This was, to deliver up their citadel. But as they refuſed to comply, he marched into their territory, and throwing up a circumvallation laid ſiege to their city. Year before Chriſt, 385.

It was now frequently ſaid by the Lacedæmonians, that " for " the ſake of a few of his favorites Ageſilaus was going to ruin " a city that contained more than five thouſand men;" for to make them believe that this was ſo the Phliaſians were ever declaiming it to them from the walls. Ageſilaus however contrived a ſcheme to convince them it was falſe. For whenever any of the Phliaſians, that were either friends or relations to the exiles eſcaped

eſcaped out of the city to the camp, he ordered the Lacedæmonians to invite them to their tents, and to furniſh ſuch of them as had a mind to go through the exerciſes with them with all proper accommodations. He injoined them farther to provide them with arms, and without heſitation to procure ſuch arms upon credit. They did all this, and furniſhed out above a thouſand Phliaſians, whoſe bodies were in fine exerciſe, who were perfectly well diſciplined and moſt expert in the uſe of arms. At length the Lacedæmonians were obliged to confeſs, that "it was well worth "their while to gain ſuch brave fellow-ſoldiers as theſe." And Ageſilaus was thus employed.

Death of Ageſipolis.

In the mean time Ageſipolis, having with all expedition croſſed Macedonia, ſhewed himſelf in battle-array before the walls of Olynthus. And when nobody ſallied out againſt him, he laid waſte all that territory which had hitherto eſcaped devaſtation, and marching towards the cities confederate with Olynthus deſtroyed their corn. He made alſo an aſſault upon Torone, and took it by ſtorm. Thus buſied as he was in the heat of ſummer, he is attacked by a burning fever. And as he had lately viſited the temple of Bacchus at Aphyte, he conceived a violent longing after the ſhady bowers and the clear and cooling ſtreams. He was therefore conveyed thither yet alive; but on the ſeventh day after he was ſeized, he expired without the verge of the temple. His body was preſerved in honey and brought home to Sparta, where it was interred with regal pomp. Ageſilaus, when he heard of his death, was not as ſome would imagine ſecretly glad at the death of a competitor, but he ſhed tears abundantly, and ſadly regretted the loſs of his companion. For, when they are at Sparta, both Kings are lodged in the ſame apartment. And Ageſipolis was qualified in all reſpects to entertain Ageſilaus with his diſcourſes about youthful exerciſes, about hunting and riding, or the more gay and lively topics. And what is more, when

they

they were thus lodged together, he conſtantly paid high reſpect to Ageſilaus as his ſenior in the manner that became him. The Lacedæmonians ſend away Polybiades to command in his ſtead againſt Olynthus.

Ageſilaus had been a longer time before Phlius than it was ſaid their proviſions could have laſted. But of ſuch excellent uſe it is to refrain from indulging the belly, that the Phliaſians, who had made a decree that only half the uſual allowance ſhould be daily iſſued out, and had obſerved this decree, were enabled to hold out twice as long as had been expected. And a reſolute ſpirit ſometimes gains an entire aſcendant over deſpondency, inſomuch that one Delphio, a perſon who had made a great figure at Phlius, being ſupported by a party of three hundred Phliaſians, was able at any time to ſtop the mouths of ſuch as cried out for peace, was able farther to apprehend and ſecure in ſafe cuſtody ſuch as were not to be truſted. He could alſo force the multitude to mount regularly upon guard, and by conſtantly going the rounds kept them ſteddy in their poſts. Nay he frequently ſallied out with his ſelect party, and drove ſuch of the enemy as were guarding the circumvallation from their poſts. But when at laſt this ſelect party after the ſtricteſt enquiry found all the corn in the city to be ſpent, they then ſent to Ageſilaus deſiring a truce for an embaſſy to go to Lacedæmon; adding, "they had "come to a reſolution to ſurrender the city on whatever condi-"tions the magiſtrates at Lacedæmon ſhould preſcribe." Ageſilaus was angry that they ſhould ſlight him in this manner. He therefore ſent to his friends at Lacedæmon, and by them ſolicited ſo effectually, that the terms of ſurrender for Phlius were left to his own determination; he however granted a truce for the embaſſy. He now kept a ſtricter guard than ever upon the beſieged, that none of them might make their eſcape. But notwithſtanding all his vigilance Delphio, accompanied by a ſcoundrel fellow a

ſervant

ſervant of his own who had frequently plundered the beſiegers of their arms, got away by night. When the meſſengers arrived from Lacedæmon, with a permiſſion from the State to Ageſilaus to ſettle the terms as he thought moſt adviſable, he declared them thus; that "fifty perſons of the late exiles, and fifty Phliaſians "who had not been exiled, ſhould firſt agree upon a report, what "perſons deſerved to be ſaved and what perſons ought to be put "to death; and then ſhould draw up a body of laws for their "future obſervation." And whilſt theſe things were ſettling he left a garriſon in Phlius, and had ſix months pay ſecured to them. Having done this, he diſmiſſed the confederates and marched back himſelf with the domeſtic troops to Sparta. The whole time of theſe tranſactions about Phlius was one year and eight months.

End of the Olynthian War.

Polybiades now compelled the Olynthians, who were grievouſly afflicted with famine ſince they could neither fetch in proviſions by land nor import them by ſea, to ſend an embaſſy to Lacedæmon to ſue for peace. The embaſſadors arrived there with full powers, and agreed "to have the ſame friend and the ſame foe with the "Lacedæmonians, to follow them as their leaders, and be their "confederates." And having ſworn to obſerve theſe articles, they returned to Olynthus.

Turn of affairs.

When every thing had thus ſucceeded with the Lacedæmonians, ſo that now the Thebans and the reſt of the Bœotians were entirely ſubmiſſive, the Corinthians adhered moſt faithfully to them, and the Argives were humbled as their plea about computing the months could no longer avail them; as the Athenians farther were left quite by themſelves; and they had ſufficiently chaſtiſed their own diſaffected confederates; their empire over Greece ſeemed at preſent to be eſtabliſhed with luſtre and ſecurity. Many inſtances however might be brought from the hiſtories both of Greeks and Barbarians, that the Gods neglect not the puniſhment of men who

who behave irreligiouſly or commit unrighteous acts; but at preſent I ſhall ſtick cloſe to my ſubject. For even thoſe Lacedæmonians, who had ſworn to leave the cities in freedom and independence, and yet had ſeized the citadel of Thebes, were chaſtiſed for their crime by the very people they had injured, though hitherto ſuperior to all their enemies. And as to thoſe very Thebans, who had led them into the citadel and taken it in their heads to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, that under their protection they might play the tyrant, no more perſons than ſeven exiles were enow to wreak ample vengeance upon them. I ſhall relate in what manner it was done.

Plot to recover Thebes.

There was one Phyllidas, who ſerved as ſecretary to the Generals of the State in the intereſt of Archias, and was highly eſteemed for the faithful execution of his office. This man was by buſineſs carried to Athens, where Mello, one of the Thebans who had refuged himſelf at Athens and was his old acquaintance, gets a conference with him. He aſked him abundance of queſtions, how Archias executed his office? and Philip continued to play the tyrant? and diſcovering that Phyllidas abhorred all the management at Thebes even worſe than himſelf, after proper pledges of fidelity to one another, they agreed about the exact method of executing the plot. In conſequence of this, Mello, taking with him ſix [1] of the propereſt perſons amongſt the exiles, armed with daggers and no other weapon, goeth in the firſt place by night into the territory of Thebes. In the next place, having paſſed the day in ſome unfrequented ſpot, at evening they came to the gates, as if returning amongſt the lateſt of thoſe who had been working in the fields. When they had thus gotten into the city, they paſſed that night in the houſe of one Charon, with whom alſo they continued the following day. Phyllidas was now very buſy in making preparations for his maſters the Gene-

[1] Pelopidas was one of the number.

rals of the State, that they might celebrate the feaſt of Venus at the expiration of their office. He had long before made them a promiſe to bring them ſome of the nobleſt and moſt beautiful Ladies in the city, and fixed this night for the performance of it. The Generals, libertines as they were, reckoned they ſhould have a moſt joyous night. When ſupper was over, and they had drank largely, for Phyllidas took care they ſhould have plenty of wine, they called upon him again and again to fetch in the Ladies. He went indeed, but fetched in Mello and his companions. He had finely dreſſed up three of them as women of quality, and the reſt as their maids. He led them firſt into the pantry of the public manſion; and then going himſelf into the room where they were feaſting, told them "the Ladies poſitively refuſed to "come in till all the ſervants were withdrawn." Upon this they immediately ordered all ſervants to leave the room. Phyllidas gave the ſervants wine, and ſent them out to drink it in the houſe of one of the public-officers. When this was done, he introduced the Ladies, and ſeated them each to a man. The ſignal was, that ſo ſoon as they were ſeated, they ſhould immediately diſcover themſelves, and ſtab. It is thus that ſome ſay they were put to death. But others will have it, that Mello and his companions came as a party of maſquers, and ſo killed the Generals of the State.

Phyllidas however, taking with him three of them, proceeded to the houſe of Leontiades; and after knocking at the door, ſaid he had ſome orders to deliver from the Generals. Leontiades had juſt thrown himſelf upon a couch after ſupper, and his wife was ſitting by him employed at her wheel. He looked upon Phyllidas as a truſty perſon, and therefore ordered him to come in. They were no ſooner in the room, than after killing him [2] and ſadly affrighting his wife, they injoined her to be ſilent. And

[2] It was Pelopidas that killed him.

now departing, they left an order, " to keep the door fast. If " they found it had been opened," they threatened " to put " all the people in the houſe to death." Phyllidas, accompanied by two of the men, went away to the public priſon, and told the Keeper, " he had a priſoner to deliver from a General " of the State, whom he muſt take care to ſecure." So ſoon as he opened the door, they immediately killed him, and ſet all the priſoners at liberty. They now ran and took arms out of the Portico, with which they armed the priſoners; and then marching to the Amphicum poſted them there on guard. And no ſooner was this done, than they proclaimed aloud, that " all the horſe- " men and heavy-armed of Thebes ſhould come out ſince the " tyrants were ſlain." The citizens, who in the night-time knew not what to believe, kept quiet in their houſes. But ſo ſoon as it was day, and it was clearly ſeen what had been done, the heavy-armed and horſemen ſoon joined them in arms [3]. The exiles alſo who had now returned to Thebes diſpatch horſemen away to the reſt of their aſſociates who were waiting on the frontiers of Athens, and two Athenian Generals with them. Theſe, knowing well why they were ſent for, put themſelves in march.

The Lacedæmonian, who commanded in the Citadel, had no ſooner heard of the proclamation that was made in the night, than he ſent away to Platæa and Theſpiæ for aid. But the Theban horſemen, who were aware of the approach of the Plataeans, met them on the road, and ſlew more than twenty of them. Coming back into Thebes after this exploit, and the party from the frontier of Athens was now alſo arrived, they made an aſſault upon the citadel. When thoſe within the citadel, whoſe number was but ſmall, found what they were about, and ſaw with how much ſpirit each aſſailant behaved, and heard large rewards offered by proclamation to ſuch as ſhould firſt ſcale the wall, they

[3] With Epaminondas at their head.

were greatly intimidated, and offered to evacuate the place, "would they give them leave to depart unmoleſted with their "arms." They readily agreed to this demand; and then granting a truce and ſwearing to an obſervance of the articles, they ordered them to evacuate the citadel. However, as they were marching out, they ſeized and maſſacred all ſuch amongſt them as they knew were their enemies. And yet ſome perſons there were, who were ſecreted by ſuch of the Athenians as had marched up with the aid from the frontier, and conveyed ſafely off. But the Thebans apprehended and butchered even the children of thoſe perſons whom they had maſſacred on this occaſion.

Year before Chriſt, 378. Cleombrotus *commands.*

When the Lacedæmonians were informed of theſe affairs, they put to death their commandant, for evacuating the citadel and not remaining in it till aid came up. They alſo proclaim an expedition againſt Thebes. But Ageſilaus alledged, that "he had "been in conſtant ſervice now forty years from his youth, and "as the law exempted all perſons of that ſtanding from ſerving "abroad in the army," he averred that "the King alſo was "included in that exemption;" and having thus alledged a reaſonable excuſe, he did not command in this expedition. Yet this was a meer pretext to evade the ſervice, as he well knew, in caſe he took the command himſelf, that his countrymen would murmur at him for giving them ſo much trouble that he might ſuccour tyrants. He ſuffered them therefore to determine every point relating to it without interfering at all. The Ephori at length, at the deſire of thoſe who had eſcaped from Thebes after the maſſacre, ſend out Cleombrotus for the firſt time to command the army, and in the very depth of winter. Chabrias, at the head of the Athenian targeteers, was guarding the paſs of Eleutheræ; Cleombrotus therefore marched up by the road that leadeth to Platæa. His targeteers, who led the van, fall in upon the mountain with a guard of about one hundred and fifty perſons, the-

the very ſame men who had been ſet at liberty out of the priſon. And all theſe, unleſs perhaps one or two who might eſcape, the targeteers immediately ſlew. He then marched down to Platæa, which was yet in friendſhip with them. But after he had been at Theſpiæ, he marched from thence to Cynoſcephale which belonged to the Thebans, and encamped his army. He continued there about ſixteen days, and then retired again to Theſpiæ. He left Sphodrias to command in that place with a third part of the confederate-troops. He alſo gave him what money he had brought from Sparta, and ordered him to hire a body of auxiliaries. And Sphodrias ſet about obeying his orders.

Cleombrotus led the reſt of the army back by the road of Cruſis, his ſoldiers being yet very much in doubt, whether there was a war or not with the Thebans. He had entered with his army, it is true, upon the dominions of Thebes, but he was again withdrawing after doing them as little damage as poſſible. Yet during his retreat there happened a moſt violent tempeſt of wind, which ſome interpreted as an omen of what was ſoon to come to paſs. Amongſt other prodigious effects of this tempeſt, as Cleombrotus was croſſing the mountain in the road from Cruſis to the ſea, it blew ſeveral aſſes loaded with baggage down the precipices, and carried abundance of weapons whirled out of the ſoldiers hands into the ſea. In ſhort many of them, unable to go on with their arms, left them behind here and there upon the top of the mountain, laying down their ſhields with the wrong ſide uppermoſt and filling them with ſtones. That night they refreſhed themſelves as well as they could at Ægoſthenes in the diſtrict of Megara, but next day they returned and fetched off their arms. And from hence each party made the beſt of their way to their ſeveral homes, for Cleombrotus diſbanded the army.

The Athenians, who now ſaw what the ſtrength of the Lacedæmonians was, that there was war no longer at Corinth, and

that

that the Lacedæmonians had even marched along by Attica againſt Thebes, were ſo highly intimidated, that they called down to a trial the two Generals, who had been concerned in the conſpiracy of Mello againſt the faction of Leontiades, and put one of them to death, and out-lawed the other who fled before his trial.

The affair of Sphodrias.

The Thebans farther, who were under full as great apprehenſions in caſe they ſhould be compelled ſingly to war with the Lacedæmonians, have recourſe to the following artifice [1].—— They perſuade Sphodrias, who was left commandant at Theſpiæ, and it was ſuſpected by a handſome bribe, to make an incurſion into Attica, in order to force the Athenians to a rupture with the Lacedæmonians. Sphodrias undertook the buſineſs and pretended he would ſeize the Piræus, as it was not yet ſecured by gates. He put his troops on the march ſoon after ſupper, ſaying that before day he would be at the Piræus. But day-light overtook him at Thria, and he had not even the caution to conceal his deſign. For when he was forced to retreat, he drove off the cattle and gutted the houſes. Some perſons too, who had fallen in with him on his march, flying with all ſpeed into the city, alarmed the Athenians with the news that a very numerous army was approaching. Their horſemen and heavy-armed were ſoon accoutred, and poſted themſelves on the guard of the city. Etymocles and Ariſtolochus and Ocellus, the Lacedæmonian embaſſadors, were now in reſidence at Athens, lodged with Callias the *public hoſt* of their State; and no ſooner was this news arrived, than the Athenians arreſted and ſecured theſe embaſſadors as privy to the ſcheme. They were ſtrangely ſurpriſed at this incident, and pleaded in their own behalf that "they were not ſuch fools "as to have ſtaid in the city in the power of the Athenians, "had they known of any deſign to ſeize the Piræus, and leaſt

[1] According to Plutarch, Pelopidas was chief agent in and promoter of this affair.

"of

" of all in their public lodgings where they were ſure to be met " with." They ſaid farther, " it ſhould be cleared up to the " ſatisfaction of the Athenians, that the State of Lacedæmon " was not privy to the deſign;" adding, " they were well aſ- " ſured of hearing ſoon that Sphodrias was put to death by his " country for it." And thus, being clearly adjudged to have known nothing at all of the matter, they were ſet at liberty.

The Ephori recalled Sphodrias, and preferred a capital indictment againſt him. He truly was affrighted, and would not undergo a trial. But after all, though he refuſed to ſtand his trial, he got himſelf acquitted. This was thought by many the moſt iniquitous ſentence that ever was given by the Lacedæmonians. But the true hiſtory of it was this:

Inſtance of partiality in Ageſilaus.

Sphodrias had a ſon, by name Cleonymus, of an age juſt beyond the claſs of boys, but the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed youth in Sparta; and Archidamus the ſon of Ageſilaus had a fondneſs for him. The friends therefore of Cleombrotus, who were great intimates with Sphodrias, were bent on getting him acquitted, but yet were afraid of Ageſilaus and his friends, and indeed of all impartial perſons, ſince beyond all doubt his offence was enormous. But Sphodrias at length ſpoke thus to Cleonymus: " It is in your power, my Son, to ſave your Father's life, would " you prevail with Archidamus to get Ageſilaus to favor me in " court." After hearing this, he had the courage to go to Archidamus and beg him to ſave his Father. Archidamus truly, ſeeing Cleonymus in tears, ſtood all in ſuſpence and wept along with him. And when he had heard his requeſt, he anſwered thus: " But you muſt know, Cleonymus, that I never am able " to look my Father in the face; and whatever public point I " want to carry, I ſolicit all the world much ſooner than my " Father. However, ſince you requeſt it, be aſſured I will do " all in my power to ſerve you." And then, leaving the public

room

room of entertainment where they were, he went home to bed. Next morning he was up betimes, and took care his Father ſhould not go out before he had ſeen him. But when he ſaw him appear, in the firſt place if any of the citizens came in, he let them talk over their buſineſs with him; and then, if there came any ſtranger; and afterwards, he gave way to ſuch of the domeſtics as had any thing to ſay. In ſhort, when Ageſilaus was returned home again from the Eurotas, he retired without daring to approach him. And the next day he behaved again exactly in the ſame manner. Ageſilaus however ſuſpected the true reaſon of his ſon's behavior, but he aſked no queſtions, and let him go on. Archidamus, as is now likely, was longing for a ſight of Cleonymus, but durſt not preſume to face him, as he had not opened his lips to his Father about his petition. And the friends of Sphodrias, finding that Archidamus who uſed to be ſo aſſiduous came not near Cleonymus, were perſuaded he had been chidden by his Father. But in ſhort, Archidamus had at laſt the courage to go up to him and ſay, "I am, Sir, deſired by Cleonymus to beg of "you to ſave his Father; I earneſtly intreat you therefore to do "it if you can." He anſwered, "I forgive you, my Son, for "aſking it; but I don't ſee how I can be forgiven by my coun-"try, if I do not condemn the man, who hath taken a bribe to "hurt my country." Archidamus had nothing to reply, but over-powered by a ſenſe of juſtice went his way. Yet afterwards, whether of his own thought or the ſuggeſtion of ſomebody elſe, he came again and ſaid, "But I am aſſured, my Father, if "Sphodrias had done no wrong, you would readily acquit him; "and therefore, though he hath done wrong, forgive him this "once to gratify your ſon." Ageſilaus replied, "Be it ſo, pro-"vided it can be done with honour." At this anſwer Archidamus went his way, quite deſpairing of ſucceſs.

One

One of the friends of Sphodrias being afterwards in diſcourſe with Etymocles ſaid to him, "All you, I ſuppoſe, who are the "friends of Ageſilaus, are for putting Sphodrias to death." "Far from it," replied Etymocles; "ſhould we not act in con-"cert with him? And Ageſilaus, I aſſure you, ſays to all with "whom he talketh about him, that beyond all doubt Sphodrias "hath been to blame; but then it would be a hardſhip indeed "to put a man to death, who in every ſtage of life had behaved "in the moſt honourable manner, for Sparta ſtandeth in need "of ſuch gallant men." Hearing this, he went and told it to Cleonymus. Cleonymus, quite over-joyed, ſought out Archidamus and ſaid, "Now we are convinced you have a ſincere regard "for us; and reſt aſſured, Archidamus, we ſhall always endeavor "to ſhew ſo high a regard for you, that you ſhall never bluſh you "have been our friend." He made his words good, ſince quite through life he nobly diſcharged all the duties of a Spartan, and at Leuctra fighting before the King in company with Dinon a general-officer, he was the firſt of the *Spartans* who dropped and died in the midſt of the enemy. His death gave the heartieſt concern to Archidamus, though according to promiſe he never ſhamed but on the contrary glorioufly adorned his Benefactor. And in this manner truly was Sphodrias acquitted.

Ageſilaus in the command.

At Athens however ſuch perſons as were in the Bœotian intereſt were repreſenting to the *people*, that "the Lacedæmonians, far "from puniſhing, had even commended Sphodrias for his trea-"chery to them." The conſequence was, that the Athenians made all faſt about the Piræus, ſet ſhips on the ſtocks, and aided the Bœotians with high alacrity. On the other ſide, the Lacedæmonians declared an expedition againſt Thebes; and judging that Ageſilaus would command the army with more pru-dence than Cleombrotus, they begged of him to undertake the ſervice. He replied that "he could refuſe no ſervice for which

" the State judged him to be qualified," and began the preparations to take the field. But ſenſible that unleſs Cithæron was ſecured in time, it would not be eaſy to get into the territory of Thebes; and having learned that the Cletorians were at war with the Orchomenians and ſubſiſted a body of foreign troops, he treated with them for the aid of thoſe troops in caſe he ſhould want them. After the ſacrifices for a ſucceſsful campaign were over, before he had reached Tegea with his Lacedæmonians, he diſpatched a meſſenger to the commander of the troops in the ſervice of the Cletorians with a month's pay advance for thoſe troops, and an order to poſſeſs themſelves immediately of Cithæron. He ſent alſo a notification to the Orchomenians " to ſuſpend their " war during his preſent expedition. But if any State, whilſt " he was in the field, preſumed to make war upon any other State, " he threatened to make war upon the State ſo offending, in pur- " ſuance of the ſtanding decree of the Confederates." And now, after paſſing Cithæron and arriving at Theſpiæ, he reſumed his march from thence and entered the dominions of Thebes. But finding the plains and the richeſt parts of the country ſecured by ditches and ramparts, he ſhifted his encampments from one ſpot to another, and leading out his army in the afternoon laid all the country waſte that he found not covered by ditches and ramparts. For the enemy, whenever Ageſilaus appeared in ſight, formed into order of battle behind their rampart as ready to defend it. And once, when he was returning to his camp, the Theban horſe, who had kept themſelves concealed, ride out ſuddenly through the ſally-ports contrived on purpoſe in the rampart, and at the time the targeteers were diſperſed to their ſupper and were actually getting it ready, whilſt the horſemen were either diſmounting or mounting again upon their horſes, gallop in amongſt them. They made a ſlaughter of the targeteers, and of the horſe ſlew Cleon and Epilytidas both of Sparta, and Eudicus who belonged to a

city

city in the neighborhood of Sparta, and ſome exiles from Athens, who had not been able to remount their horſes. But when Ageſilaus had faced about with the heavy-armed and was marching towards them, and the horſe on each ſide began to ride at one another, and the firſt military claſs of Spartans ran out from the heavy-armed to ſupport the horſe, then indeed the horſemen of the Thebans reſembled labourers exhauſted by the noon-day heat. They kept their ground it is true againſt aſſailants, and threw their ſpears, but then they never threw them home. And at laſt, being obliged to wheel about, twelve of them were ſlain. When Ageſilaus was thus convinced that the enemy were always in motion after dinner, he ſacrificed at early day; and then marching out his army with all expedition, he entered their lines by a quarter on which there was no guard at all. And after this he put every thing within their lines to fire and ſword quite up to the walls of Thebes. But having done this and retreated again to Theſpiæ, he fortified that city; and leaving Phœbidas behind to be commandant in Theſpiæ, he repaſſed to Megara, diſmiſſed the confederates, and led back the domeſtic troops to Sparta.

Defeat and death of Phœbidas.

But after his departure, Phœbidas by ſending out his parties was continually fetching in plunder from the Thebans, and by the incurſions he made gave ſad annoyance to the country. The Thebans on the other ſide, being eager for revenge, march with their whole united force into the territory of the Theſpians. But though they had thus entered it, Phœbidas lay ſo cloſe upon them with his targeteers, that none of the enemy durſt on any occaſion ſtraggle from the main-body. In ſhort, the Thebans were grievouſly diſappointed in this fruitleſs incurſion, and were retreating with much precipitation. And even their muleteers, throwing away what corn they had got, rode homewards as faſt as poſſible; ſo great a panic had ſeized the army. But Phœbidas with high ardor kept plying in purſuit. He followed it cloſe with the targeteers,

geteers, having left orders for the heavy-armed to follow after in their regular order. He was full of hope to make it end in a general rout. He himſelf preſſed with great bravery on their rear; he encouraged every perſon to keep up cloſe at the enemy; and he ordered the heavy-armed of Theſpiæ to follow him. But the Theban horſe were now come in their retreat to a wood that was impaſſable, at which they firſt drew cloſe together, and in the next place they faced about, ſince they were quite at a loſs how to get any farther. The targeteers, and the number of them was but ſmall, that firſt approached, were terrified and took to flight. When the horſemen ſaw this, the very fright of their own people inſtructed them to fall on; and here Phœbidas with two or three more were ſlain fighting. Perceiving Phœbidas was killed, all the mercenaries to a man took to flight. When in their flight they were come back to the heavy-armed of Theſpiæ, theſe alſo, in ſpite of their former boaſts that they would never give way before Thebans, fled too for company. They ſaved themſelves indeed from any warm purſuit, ſince it was now late in the day. Hence it was that few of theſe Theſpians loſt their lives. They fled however without once looking behind them, till they were got within their own walls.

The affairs of the Thebans took freſh life again after this ſucceſs, and they marched againſt Theſpiæ and the adjacent cities. The party, it is true, for the Thebans in each of theſe cities had retired to Thebes, ſince their governments had been lodged in the hands of a few great men in the ſame manner as had been done in Thebes. The friends therefore of the Lacedæmonians in all theſe cities were petitioning for ſuccour. And after the death of Phœbidas the Lacedæmonians ſent by ſea a general-officer and one brigade to lie in garriſon at Theſpiæ.

Year before Chriſt, 377. But ſo ſoon as the ſpring came on, the Lacedæmonians again declared an expedition againſt Thebes; and begged Ageſilaus, as the

the year before, to take upon him the command. He was ſtill in the ſame ſentiments about the manner of breaking into the country, ſo that before the ſolemn ſacrifices were performed he diſpatched away a meſſenger to the commanding officer at Theſpiæ, with an order to him to poſſeſs himſelf immediately of the eminence that commands the paſs of Citharon, and maintain it till he came up with the army. When he himſelf had paſſed it and was got to Platæa, he again pretended to march to Theſpiæ. He ſent his couriers thither to order a market to be ready, and for all embaſſadors to wait for him there, inſomuch that the Thebans gathered all their ſtrength together to ſtop his march to Theſpiæ. But the day after, having ſacrificed at early dawn, he began his march along the road of Erythra; and having made a double march that day, he paſſed the lines of the enemy at Scolus, before the Thebans could arrive from the place where he had paſſed laſt year, which they were intent on guarding. Having thus paſſed the lines, he laid all the country waſte eaſtward of Thebes quite up to Tanagra (for Tanagra was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of Hypotadorus, who was a friend to the Lacedæmonians), and afterwards marched back again keeping the walls of Thebes on his left. The Thebans took the field, and were poſted in order of battle at Graos-ſtethos, having in their rear the ditch and rampart, and judging themſelves excellently well poſted for hazarding a battle: for the ground here was ſufficiently narrow and very rugged. But Ageſilaus, ſeeing how they were poſted, would not advance towards them; but making a ſudden turn to the left, he marched directly for the city of Thebes. And now the Thebans, trembling for the city, empty as it was of all its people, ſtarted away from the poſt where they were formed in order of battle, and advanced full ſpeed towards the city along the road of Potnia; for this was in reality the ſecureſt way. And yet it was undoubtedly a noble piece of conduct in Ageſilaus, to retreat to a great

Ageſilaus again in the command.

diſtance from the enemy, and oblige them in the greateſt hurry to quit their ground. Some however of the general-officers with their own brigades ran at the Thebans, as they were ruſhing along full ſpeed. But the Thebans poured their darts and javelins upon them from the eminences, and Halypetus one of theſe officers loſt his life by a wound received from a javelin thrown at him. The Thebans however were obliged to diſlodge from that eminence; and the Sciritæ and the horſemen rode up it, and kept ſtriking at the rear of the enemy whilſt they were running towards the city. But ſo ſoon as they were got near the walls the Thebans face about. The Sciritæ, ſeeing this, retreated back faſter than a foot-pace, and not one of them loſt his life on this occaſion. The Thebans however erected a trophy, ſince their aſſailants had thus retreated.

Ageſilaus, as it was now high time, wheeled off, and encamped his army on the very ground where he had before ſeen the enemy poſted in order of battle, and on the next day led them back to Theſpiæ. The targeteers in the pay of Thebes kept following cloſe in his rear, and were calling out on Chabrias for not keeping up with them, when the Olynthian horſe (for now purſuant to oath they were in the army) wheeled about, forced them up an aſcent by the cloſeneſs of their purſuit, and put very many of them to the ſword. For footmen, when labouring up a ſmooth aſcent, are quickly overtaken by horſe.

At his return to Theſpiæ, Ageſilaus found the citizens of that place embroiled in ſedition; and, as the party attached to the Lacedæmonians were for putting their adverſaries to death, amongſt whom was Meno, he would not ſuffer it. On the contrary, he reconciled them; and having obliged them to ſwear not to hurt one another, he then repaſſed Cithæron and got back to Megara. At Megara he diſbanded the confederates, and led away himſelf the domeſtic troops to Sparta.

The

The Thebans, who now were highly diſtreſſed by a ſcarcity of corn, ſince for the laſt two years they had not reaped the produce of their ſoil, ſend out proper perſons on board two triremes to purchaſe corn at Pagaſæ, giving them ten * talents for the purpoſe. But Alcetas the Lacedæmonian who was now in garriſon at Oneus, whilſt they were purchaſing and taking in their corn, manned out three triremes, taking all poſſible care they ſhould have no intelligence of what he was about. And when the corn was carrying off, Alcetas ſeizeth it all in the triremes, and took priſoners all the perſons on board, who were not fewer than three hundred. And theſe his priſoners he conveyed for ſecurity into the citadel where he was lodged himſelf. It was reported, that a youth of Oreus, remarkably handſome, followed after the crowd on this occaſion, and Alcetas walked down from the citadel to have ſome converſation with him. The priſoners therefore, obſerving this negligence of his, ſeize the citadel, and the town revolts; and now, without obſtruction, the Thebans fetched away all the corn.

* 1937 l. 10 s.

Illneſs of Ageſilaus.

When the enſuing ſpring approached, Ageſilaus was confined to his bed. For at Megara, when he led the army back from Thebes, as he was going up from the temple of Venus to the Hall of the Magiſtrates, he burſt a vein ſomewhere in the inſide of his body, and the blood flowed down from it into his ſound leg. His ancle became exceſſively ſwelled, and the pain was not to be born. A phyſician therefore from Syracuſe lays open the vein upon the ancle-bone. The blood, having thus got a vent, continued to iſſue for a whole day and night, and in ſpite of all their arts the flux could not be ſtopped till he fainted away; then indeed it ceaſed intirely. And being afterwards conveyed to Lacedæmon, he was very ill all the reſt of that ſummer, and all the next winter too.

However,

Year before Chriſt, 376. Cleombrotus *in the command.*

However, ſo ſoon as it was ſpring, the Lacedæmonians again declared an expedition againſt the Thebans, and ordered Cleombrotus to command the army. When in his march he was near Cithæron, the targeteers advanced before him to ſecure the eminence above the paſs. Some of the Thebans and Athenians had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſummit of the mountain, and ſuffered them quietly to mount the aſcent. But ſo ſoon as they were come within reach, they ſtarted up, purſued, and ſlew about forty of them. And after this repulſe, Cleombrotus, judging it impoſſible to get over into the dominions of Thebes, led back and diſbanded the army.

War at ſea.

An aſſembly of the confederates was held afterwards at Lacedæmon, where they remonſtrated at large, that "they ſhould "be ruined by ſuch a ſluggiſh conduct of the war. The Lace-"dæmonians, if they pleaſed, might man out a much larger "number of ſhips than the Athenians, and might ſtarve their "city into a ſurrender. With the ſame ſhips they might alſo "tranſport the land-army againſt Thebes; or, if they had rather, "might march through Phocis; or, if they choſe it, by the "paſs of Cruſis." In purſuance of theſe remonſtrances, they manned out ſixty triremes, and Pollis was appointed to be admiral. And indeed ſuch as recommended this conduct were not diſappointed, for by it the Athenians were blocked up at ſea. Their corn-ſhips were come up as far as Geraſtus, but not a veſſel durſt ſtir from thence, as the fleet of the Lacedæmonians was on the ſtations of Ægina and Ceos and Andros. The Athenians, thus convinced they muſt run all hazards, went on board their ſhips; and, coming to an engagement with Pollis, they gain a victory at ſea under the command of Chabrias. And then the corn was brought in ſafety to Athens.

Succeſs of Timotheus.

The Lacedæmonians preparing now to tranſport the land-army againſt the Bœotians, the Thebans requeſted the Athenians to appear

appear with their naval force on the coaſts of Peloponneſus; judging that, would the Athenians comply, it would be impoſſible for the Lacedæmonians at one and the ſame time to guard their own coaſt with all the confederate-cities that lie round their dominions, and to ſend abroad an army large enough to make head againſt them. The Athenians, ſtill full of reſentment againſt the Lacedæmonians for the affair of Sphodrias, having manned out ſixty ſhips and choſen Timotheus for commander, diſpatched them with alacrity againſt Peloponneſus. And now, as their enemy had made no irruption into the territory of Thebes, either during the command of Cleombrotus, or whilſt Timotheus was hovering round their coaſts, the Thebans boldly took the field againſt their neighboring cities, and retook them all. Timotheus alſo, after coaſting round, reduced Corcyra without loſs of time. However, he reduced none to ſlavery, he drove none into exile, he made no change in their laws; and by ſuch moderation he procured the good-will of all the neighboring States. And now the Lacedæmonians manned out their ſhips to check Timotheus, and ſent them to ſea under the command of Nicolochus, a man of remarkable bravery. He was no ſooner within ſight of the ſhips of Timotheus, than though ſix ſhips from Ambracia had not yet joined him, and he had under his command but fifty-five againſt ſixty ſhips under Timotheus, he engaged without any heſitation. He was indeed defeated in the battle, and Timotheus erected a trophy at Ælyzia. But whilſt the ſhips of Timotheus were drawn aſhore in order to be repaired, and the ſix freſh ſhips from Ambracia had joined Nicolochus, he ſailed up to Ælyzia where Timotheus was. But as the latter refuſed to come out and fight, Nicolochus alſo erected a trophy on the neareſt iſland. Yet, when Timotheus had refitted his own ſhips, and manned out ſeveral more from Corcyra, his total number amounting now to

Year before Chriſt, 375.

more than ſeventy, he became far ſuperior in ſtrength at ſea. He ſent away to Athens for money; and much money he wanted, for he had many ſhips.

THE

THE HISTORY OF The AFFAIRS OF GREECE

By XENOPHON.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

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THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BOOK VI.

War in Phocis.

THE Athenians and the Lacedæmonians were thus employed. But the Thebans, after they had reduced the cities of Bœotia, marched into Phocis. The Phocians ſent away embaſſadors to Lacedæmon, and repreſented there, that "without a ſpeedy aid they could not avoid ſubmitting to the "Thebans." The conſequence was, that the Lacedæmonians tranſported by ſea to aid them their King Cleombrotus, having under him four brigades and a part of their confederates.

Account of Jaſon given by Polydamas.

About the ſame time, Polydamas the Pharſalian alſo arriveth at Lacedæmon on buſineſs to the State. Polydamas was in high eſteem all over Theſſaly; and in his own city of Pharſalus was judged ſo honeſt and worthy a man, that his fellow-citizens, who had been embroiled in a ſedition, had unanimouſly agreed as the laſt

thefit expedient to entruſt their citadel to his cuſtody. They impowered him farther to receive all the public revenue, and make ſuch diſburſements for ſacrifices and other points of the public adminiſtration as were according to law. Thus provided with money, he procured an effectual guard for the citadel, and at every year's end paſſed fair accounts of his adminiſtration. Nay, whenever the public money fell ſhort, he advanced his own for the neceſſary payments, and re-imburſed himſelf again when the public money came in. And more than all this, he lived in a courſe of great hoſpitality and magnificence too, according to the modes of Theſſaly. When Polydamas therefore was arrived at Lacedæmon, he ſpoke as followeth:

Speech of Polydamas.

" Not only my progenitors from time immemorial, but I my-
" ſelf too, Lacedæmonians, have been your *public hoſt* and con-
" ſtant benefactor. I have therefore a right, when I want aſ-
" ſiſtance, to apply to you for it, and to give you notice in time
" of any difficulty that ſtarts up and may prove prejudicial to
" you in Theſſaly.

" You are no ſtrangers, I am well aſſured, to the name of
" Jaſon; for he is a man of great power, and in high reputation.
" This Jaſon, having demanded a truce, hath had a conference
" with me, in which he diſcourſed me thus:

" You may judge, Polydamas, from the reaſons I am going
" to lay before you, whether I am not able to reduce Pharſalus
" your city to my own obedience in ſpite of all oppoſition. I
" have (ſaid he) now ready to act with me the largeſt number of
" the moſt powerful cities in Theſſaly. I have reduced them into
" obedience to myſelf, though you united with them in carrying
" on a war againſt me. You know further, that I have now a
" body of ſix thouſand foreigners in my pay; and, in my judge-
" ment, no city in this part of the world can in battle be a match
" for them. I can bring (ſaid he) full as many more into the

" field

" field from other places in my own ſubjection. The troops
" that occaſionally take the field from Theſſalian cities, have ſe-
" veral perſons amongſt them advanced in years, and ſeveral not
" yet of age for ſervice; and ſmall is the number of thoſe be-
" longing to any city whatever, who keep themſelves in proper
" exerciſe for war. But not a man receiveth my pay, who is not
" able to undergo any toil as well as myſelf."

" And Jaſon himſelf (for I muſt not ſuppreſs the truth) is very
" ſtrong by natural conſtitution, and is beſide habitually hardy.
" And hence it is, that not a day paſſeth, in which he doth not
" put the hardineſs of his men to trial. He is daily in armour,
" and daily at their head, either when they go out to exerciſe,
" or go out on actual ſervice. Such of his mercenaries as he
" findeth unable to bear hardſhips, he throweth aſide; but ſuch
" as he findeth are eager to toil, and eager to face the dangers
" of war, he diſtinguiſheth by an aſſignment of pay twice, thrice,
" nay four times as large as the common, beſide the additional
" preſents he maketh them, beſide his great care to cure them
" when they are ſick, and the handſome funerals he honoureth
" them with if they die. Thus it is, that all the foreigners in
" Jaſon's ſervice are perfectly aſſured, that military valour afford-
" eth all the honour and affluence of life.

" He then repeated to me what I well knew before, that the
" Maracians and Dolopians and Alcetas who governeth in Epirus
" were already ſubject to his orders.—What reaſon therefore
" (ſaid he) have I to be frighted, or to think I am not able to
" reduce you Pharſalians too? Yet ſome that know me not may
" here demand, Why therefore do you dally? why do you not
" march at once againſt the Pharſalians? My anſwer is plain and
" honeſt truth, Becauſe I had rather gain you by a willing than
" a compelled ſubmiſſion. For ſhould you act with me upon
" compulſion, you will for ever be contriving to do me miſchief.

" and I ſhall for ever be contriving to weaken you as much as
" poſſibly I can. But if you join me upon the motives of per-
" ſuaſion, it is plain we ſhall be ready on both ſides to do all
" the good we can for one another. I am very ſenſible, Polyda-
" mas, that Pharſalus your own native city placeth all confidence
" in you. If therefore you can bring it into friendſhip with me,
" I give you my honour (ſaid he) I will make you next after myſelf
" the greateſt man in Greece. And hear of how much good
" I offer you the ſecond ſhare; and believe nothing of what I
" am going to ſay, unleſs your own reaſon upon reflection con-
" vinceth you it is true. This therefore is certainly clear, that
" if Pharſalus and the cities that depend upon you will act in
" union with me, I may eaſily get myſelf declared *Supreme Go-*
" *vernor* of all the Theſſalians. It is equally certain, that when
" Theſſaly ſhall thus be united under one Head, the number of
" horſemen riſeth at once to ſix thouſand, and the number of
" their heavy-armed to more than ten thouſand men. And when
" I conſider, how able-bodied and how brave they are by nature,
" I am perſuaded that, when they are properly diſciplined, there
" is not a nation to whom the Theſſalians would not diſdain the
" thought of ſubmitting. And as Theſſaly itſelf is a country of
" vaſt extent, no ſooner are they united under one Head, than
" all the nations around muſt inſtantly ſubmit. Theſe people
" are expert in the uſe of miſſive weapons; and hence it may be
" judged, that our armies will exceed all others in the number
" of our targeteers. Beſide this, the Bœotians, and all other
" people of Greece who are enemies to the Lacedæmonians, are
" confederates with me. They ever profeſs themſelves ready to
" act under my guidance, provided I free them from the Lacedæ-
" monians. The Athenians farther, I am well perſuaded, would
" do any thing in the world to be taken into our alliance. But
" I think it will not be my choice to be at friendſhip with them;

" ſince I judge it much eaſier at preſent to eſtabliſh an empire
" by ſea than by land. Whether I judge ſolidly or not, conſider
" what I am going to add —— When we are maſters of Mace-
" donia, from whence the Athenians fetch their timber, we ſhall
" be able to build a much larger number of ſhips than they. And
" ſhall we not be able to man theſe ſhips with much more expe-
" dition than the Athenians, as we have ſo many *vaſſals amongſt * Subjects.
" us capable of being made good ſeamen? And again, ſhall we
" not be better able to victual our fleets? we, who make large
" exportations of our corn from the great plenty we enjoy, than
" the Athenians can be, who have not enough for their home-
" conſumption without buying it at foreign markets? In money
" too we muſt certainly outdo them, ſince we are not to ſqueeze
" it from a parcel of paltry iſlands, but can collect it in moſt
" ample meaſure from whole nations on the continent; and all
" the circumjacent nations are ſubjected to a tribute, when the
" government of Theſſaly is lodged in the hands of a Supreme
" Governor. You yourſelf know, that the Perſian Monarch, who
" collects his tributes not from iſlands but the continent, is the
" richeſt man upon earth. And this very Monarch, I think, I could
" reduce to my own ſubjection with more eaſe than even Greece.
" For I am ſenſible, that in all his dominions there is but one
" ſingle perſon who takes not more pains to be a ſlave than to
" be free. And I am farther ſenſible, how that Monarch was
" reduced to the laſt extremity by ſo ſmall a force as marched
" up againſt him under Cyrus, and by that afterwards under
" Ageſilaus."

" When Jaſon had run over all theſe points, my anſwer was
" —There is weight aſſuredly in all you have ſaid. But for us,
" who are confederates with the Lacedæmonians and without
" having any thing to lay to their charge, to revolt to their
" enemies, ſeems to me (ſaid I) a point that I ſhall not eaſily

" comply with. He praiſed my ingenuity, and ſaid I was ſo
" honeſt a man that he would do all in his power to gain my
" friendſhip. He hath therefore given me leave to repair hither,
" and repreſent the truth to you, that, unleſs we readily join him,
" he is fully determined to make war upon the Pharſalians. He
" injoined me farther, to demand aſſiſtance from you. If (ſaid
" he) they grant you an aid, and ſuch as you judge ſufficient to
" enable you to make head againſt me, bring them into the field
" (ſaid he), and let us decide by battle what our future conduct
" muſt be: but, in caſe they give you not a ſufficient aid, your
" country, which honoureth *you*, and which *you* nobly ſerve,
" may poſſibly have ample reaſon to cenſure your behavior.

" It is for theſe reaſons, that I am come now to Lacedæmon,
" and have given an exact recital of what I know myſelf, and
" what I have heard Jaſon ſay. And in my own opinion, Lacedæ-
" monians, the point reſts here;——If actually you can ſend an
" army thither, in aid not only of me but of the reſt of the
" Theſſalians, ſufficient to maintain a war againſt Jaſon, the
" cities will revolt from him. For they are all in great fear,
" how the mighty power of this man will end. But, if you judge
" that a body of *new-enfranchiſed* citizens and a private *Spartan*
" to command will ſuffice, I then adviſe you not to meddle at
" all. For reſt thoroughly convinced, it is a mighty ſtrength
" you are to ſtruggle againſt. That ſtrength will be under the
" conduct of an able commander; who, when the point is either
" to conceal, or prevent, or to puſh, will be generally ſucceſs-
" ful. He knoweth how to act as well by night as by day.
" On any emergency, he will take either dinner or ſupper with-
" out abating his activity. He never thinketh it time to take
" his repoſe, till he is arrived at the place whither he reſolved
" to go, or hath compleated the point he was determined to
" compleat. He hath made ſuch practices habitual to all his troops.

" He

" He is ſkilful at gratifying his ſoldiers, when by hardy perſe-
" verance they have accompliſhed any point of importance; ſo
" that all who ſerve under Jaſon have learned this leſſon, that
" pleaſure is the effect of toil; though as to ſenſual pleaſures, I
" know no perſon in the world more temperate than Jaſon. They
" never break in upon his time; they always leave him leiſure
" to do what muſt be done.

" Conſider therefore theſe things; and tell me, in the manner
" that becometh you, what you ſhall be able to do, and what
" you will do in this affair."

Polydamas ſpoke thus, and the Lacedæmonians excuſed themſelves from giving an immediate anſwer. Next day and the day after they employed themſelves in calculating, how many brigades they had already abroad in different quarters, and how many ſhips they muſt keep at ſea to make head againſt the fleet of Athens, and what was requiſite for the war againſt their neighboring enemies. And then they made this anſwer to Polydamas, that " at
" preſent they could not ſend him a competent aid; it was there-
" fore their advice, that he ſhould return, and accommodate both
" the public and his own private affairs with Jaſon in the beſt
" manner he was able." And Polydamas, after highly commending the ingenuity of the *State*, returned to Pharſalus.

He now made it his requeſt to Jaſon, not to compel him to ſurrender the citadel of the Pharſalians, which he would fain preſerve faithfully for thoſe who had made him the depoſitary of it. But then he gave his own ſons for hoſtages, promiſing he would perſuade his fellow-citizens to act in hearty concert with him, and would himſelf co-operate to get him declared *Supreme Governor* of Theſſaly. When therefore they had exchanged ſecurities to one another, the Pharſalians had a peace immediately granted them, and Jaſon was ſoon without oppoſition appointed *Supreme Governor* of all Theſſaly. When thus inveſted with

authority, he fixed the number of horſemen and number of heavy-armed, that every city in proportion to their ability ſhould be obliged to maintain. And the number of his horſemen now, including his confederates, was more than eight thouſand, his heavy-armed were computed to be twenty thouſand at leaſt. His targeteers were numerous enough to fight all other targeteers in the world: it would be a toil to reckon up the names of the cities to which they belonged. He alſo ordered the people that lay round Theſſaly to ſend in their tribute, in the ſame manner it was paid during the *ſupremacy* of Scopas. And in this manner were theſe things brought about. I now return again from whence I digreſſed to give this account of Jaſon.

A peace between Athens and Sparta. Year before Chriſt, 374.

The troops of the Lacedæmonians and confederates were now aſſembled in Phocis; but the Thebans, after withdrawing into their own territory, guarded all the paſſes. In the mean time the Athenians, ſeeing how much they had contributed towards the power of the Thebans, who notwithſtanding paid nothing in return for the ſupport of their fleet, and finding themſelves exhauſted by the vaſt taxes they paid, and by the piratical cruizes from Ægina, and the guard of their lands, became highly deſirous of bringing the war to an end. Accordingly they ſent embaſſadors to Lacedæmon; and made a peace. Two of theſe embaſſadors ſet ſail immediately from Lacedæmon in purſuance of an order from Athens, and commanded Timotheus to return home with the fleet, ſince now there was a peace. But in his homeward paſſage he landed all the exiles from Zacynthus on their own iſle. But no ſooner had the other Zacynthians ſent notice to Lacedæmon of this action of Timotheus, than the Lacedæmonians reſolved that "the Athenians had committed injuſtice," prepared again to ſend out a fleet, and ordered the equipment of ſixty ſhips from Lacedæmon itſelf and Corinth and Leucas and Ambracia and Elis and Zacynthus and Achæa and Epidaurus and Trœzen and Hermione and

But immediately broke. Year before Chriſt, 373.

and Haliæ. Having next declared Mnaſippus admiral of this fleet, they ordered him to take due care of every thing within that ſea, and to make an attempt upon Corcyra. They ſent alſo to Dionyſius, repreſenting to him, that it was by no means for his intereſt, that Corcyra ſhould remain in the power of the Athenians.

Corcyra *beſieged.*

And now when the whole fleet was gotten together, Mnaſippus ſailed for Corcyra. He had with him, beſides the troops from Lacedæmon, a body of mercenaries in number not leſs than fifteen hundred. When he had landed in Corcyra, he was maſter of all the country. He ruined their eſtates ſo beautifully cultivated and ſo finely planted. He demoliſhed the magnificent houſes built upon them, in the cellars of which their wines were lodged. His ſoldiers are reported on this occaſion to have grown ſo nice in palate, that they would not drink any wine that had not an odoriferous flavor. Slaves alſo and cattle in vaſt abundance were taken in the adjacent country. At length he had encamped with his land-forces on a hill, which had the country behind it, about * five *ſtadia* from the city, in order to intercept any aid from the country that might endeavor to enter the city; and had further ſtationed his fleet on either ſide of the city, as he judged would beſt enable them to diſcover and ſtop in time whatever approached by ſea; and, beſide all this, he kept a guard at ſea before the harbour, when the weather was not too tempeſtuous. In this manner he kept the city cloſe blocked up.

* *About half a mile.*

And now the Corcyreans, who could receive none of the produce of their lands, ſince they were all in the enemy's poſſeſſion; who could have nothing imported by ſea, as their enemies were alſo maſters there; were in great diſtreſs. They ſent to the Athenians, and requeſted a ſpeedy aid. They remonſtrated to them—— "How vaſtly they needs muſt ſuffer, if they were thus "deprived of Corcyra, or reſigned ſo great a ſtrength to their "enemies! No State in Greece, excepting Athens, had ſo much

ſhipping,

" ſhipping, or ſo much wealth. The city of Corcyra was finely " ſituated in reſpect to the bay of Corinth, and the cities which " ſtood upon that bay; finely ſituated too for annoying the coaſt " of Laconia; and moſt finely indeed in reſpect to the continent " beyond it, and the paſſage from Sicily to Peloponneſus."

Relieved by the Athenians.

The Athenians, after liſtening to theſe remonſtrances, agreed it was a point deſerving all their care, and diſpatch away Steſicles with ſix hundred targeteers to take upon him the command, and begged Alcetas to tranſport and land them in Corcyra. Accordingly they were landed by night ſomewhere upon that iſland, and get into the city. They decreed farther, to man out ſixty ſhips; and, by a majority of hands, elected Timotheus to command them. But, not being able to man them at home, Timotheus ſailed to the iſlands, and endeavored there to compleat his crews; judging it no trifling matter to ſtand away haſtily againſt a fleet ſo well prepared as was that of the enemy. But the Athenians, who now thought he was waſting the precious time and ought at once to have made his paſſage, grew out of all patience with him, and ſuſpending his command choſe Iphicrates in his room. Iphicrates, ſo ſoon as he was appointed to command, compleated his crews with high expedition, obliging all captains of ſhips to exert themſelves. He preſſed into the ſervice, by public permiſſion, whatever ſhips were found upon the Attic coaſts, nay even the *Salaminian* and the *Paralus*, ſaying " if " things ſucceeded well at Corcyra, he would ſend them back " plenty of ſhips." And the number of his ſhips amounted at laſt to ſeventy.

Bad conduct and death of Mnaſippus.

In the mean time the Corcyreans were ſo ſorely preſſed with famine that vaſt numbers of them deſerted to the enemy, inſomuch that Mnaſippus at length made public proclamation, that " all deſerters ſhould be ſold at public ſale." But as this put no ſtop to their deſertion, he at laſt ſcourged them, and then drove them

them back. Yet the beſieged would not again receive any ſlaves into the town, ſo that many of them periſhed without the walls. Mnaſippus therefore, ſeeing theſe things, imagined he was already only not in poſſeſſion of the city. He therefore made new regulations in regard to his mercenaries, and forced ſome of them to leave the ſervice without their pay. And to thoſe whom he ſtill kept with him, he was already two months in arrear, though (as was ſaid) he was in no want of money: for ſeveral of the cities ſent money over to him inſted of troops, as the expedition was acroſs the ſea. But now the beſieged ſaw plainly from the turrets, that the guards did their duty with more negligence than before, and that the men ſtraggled in a careleſs manner about the country. They therefore ſallied out upon them ſuddenly, and took ſome priſoners, and ſome they ſlew. Mnaſippus, perceiving this, caught up his arms in an inſtant, and marched with all the heavy-armed he had to their ſuccour, and gave orders to the ſuperior and inferior officers of the mercenaries to lead out their troops. But ſome of theſe inferior officers having anſwered that "it would not be eaſy to bring ſoldiers out in proper diſcipline "who could get no pay," he ſtruck one of them with his ſtaff and another with his ſpear. And thus at length they all come out into the field, though without any ſpirits at all and with a hearty deteſtation of Mnaſippus, the worſt temper in the world for men going to fight. When he had drawn them up in order of battle, he put the enemy to flight that were drawn up between him and the gates, and followed briſkly in purſuit. But the purſued, when they were near the wall, made a wheel, and kept galling him from the tombs with their darts and javelins. And another party, ſallying out at another gate, pour down in great numbers on the extremity of his line. The men poſted there, as they were drawn up but eight in file, judged the point of their line to be quite too weak, and endeavored to make a wheel. But they

they had no ſooner begun to fall back, than the enemy broke in upon them as if they were flying, and they made no attempt to recover their ranks. Such too as were poſted neareſt to them took inſtantly to flight. Mnaſippus in the mean time was not able to aſſiſt the routed part of his line, as the enemy was lying hard upon him in front; he was every moment left with fewer and fewer men. And at laſt the enemy, gathering into a body, made a general attack upon thoſe remaining with Mnaſippus, who were very few. The heavy-armed of the enemy, ſeeing how the caſe ſtood, now made a ſally; and after killing Mnaſippus the whole force of the enemy continued the purſuit. The whole camp and the intrenchment were in great danger of being taken, had not the purſuers judged it adviſable to retreat, when they ſaw the great crowd of people gotten together within the camp, whom though ſervants and ſlaves they judged might be ſerviceable in its defence. And then the Corcyreans erected a trophy, and reſtored the dead under truce.

The beſieged, after this, were in the higheſt ſpirits, whilſt the beſiegers were in a total dejection. For now it was reported, that Iphicrates was only not at hand, and the Corcyreans actually manned out their ſhips. But Hypermenes, who was at preſent in the command ſince he had been Lieutenant to Mnaſippus, ordered every ſhip to be immediately manned, and ſtanding round with them to the intrenchment of the camp, ſhipped all the ſlaves and treaſure on board, and ſent them off. He ſtaid on ſhore, with the marines and ſuch of the ſoldiers as yet remained, to guard the intrenchment. And at laſt even theſe, though with the utmoſt diſorder, got on board the ſhips and put out to ſea, leaving a great quantity of corn and a great quantity of wine and many ſlaves and ſick perſons behind them. They were in a terrible fright, leſt they ſhould be caught upon the iſland by the Athenians. And in fact, they all got ſafe over to Leucas.

But

Fine conduct of Iphicrates.

But Iphicrates, when once he had begun the paſſage, kept at the ſame time advancing in his courſe, and preparing his whole fleet for engagement. He had left behind him the great maſts at ſetting out, as ſtanding away for battle. He alſo made very little uſe of his ſails even when the wind was favorable. He made the paſſage by the oar; and ſo kept the bodies of his men in excellent order, and his ſhips in an even motion. Whenever the forces were to land for their dinner or ſupper, he led the fleet in a line a-head over-againſt the place; then making a tack, and bringing the heads of his veſſels in a direct line with the ſhore, he gave a ſignal for all to make the beſt of their way to land. A great advantage thence accrued to ſuch, as could firſt take in their water or what elſe they wanted, and firſt finiſh their meal. A great puniſhment likewiſe fell upon ſuch as were laſt upon theſe occaſions, becauſe they got a leſs quantity of whatever they wanted, ſince they were obliged to put out to ſea again when the ſignal was given. For it followed of courſe, that ſuch as landed firſt had leiſure enough for all their occaſions, whilſt the laſt were grievouſly hurried. And whenever he landed at meal-time on the ſhore of the enemy, he poſted advanced guards, as was proper, at land; and raiſing the maſts in his ſhips, placed centinels on their tops. Theſe latter therefore had generally a much more extenſive view by being thus mounted aloft than men who ſtand upon level ground. And wherever he ſupped or refreſhed his men, he ſuffered no fire to be kindled in the night-time within his encampment, but fixed his lights in the front of his ſtation, that nobody might approach without being diſcovered. Oftentimes too, when the weather was calm, he put out again to ſea ſo ſoon as ſupper was over; and if a gale ſprung up, the men took ſome repoſe whilſt the veſſels kept going before the wind. But if they were obliged to row, he made them take reſt by turns. In the day-time directing the courſe by ſignals, he one while ad-

vanced in the line a-head, and another while in the line a-breaſt. By this means, and during the paſſage, having by conſtant exerciſes acquired all needful ſkill for engaging, they arrived in the ſea of which they imagined the enemy were maſters. They frequently dined and ſupped upon the enemy's land; but as Iphicrates was ſolely intent upon doing what muſt needs be done, he prevented all attacks by the ſuddenneſs with which he again put to ſea, and proceeded in his paſſage. About the time that Mnaſippus was killed he was got to Sphageæ of Laconia. Advancing from thence to the coaſt of Elis, and paſſing by the mouth of the Alpheus, he came to an anchor near the place called Ichthys. The next day he proceeded from thence to Cephallene, with his fleet ſo ranged and proceeding in their courſe, that every thing needful was ready for an engagement, if it ſhould be neceſſary to engage. He heard indeed of the death of Mnaſippus, yet from none that could atteſt its truth; he ſuſpected it was given out on purpoſe to deceive him, and kept upon his guard. However, when arrived at Cephallene, he was there convinced of the truth, and ſtopped to refreſh his fleet.——I am ſenſible indeed, that whenever men expect an engagement, exerciſe and diſcipline are conſtantly inforced. But I commend Iphicrates for this, that as he was to advance with the higheſt expedition to find his enemy and engage them, he contrived ſo well, that the expeditiouſneſs of the voyage ſhould not hinder his men from acquiring ſkill for battle, nor the methods of acquiring ſuch ſkill ſhould retard the expeditiouſneſs of the voyage.

When therefore he had reduced the cities of Cephallene, he ſailed to Corcyra. After his arrival there, the firſt thing he heard was, that ten ſhips were coming over from Dionyſius as a ſuccour to the Lacedæmonians. He went therefore himſelf in perſon to look for proper places on the coaſt, from whence the approach of theſe ſhips might be deſeried, and the ſignals made

to notify it might be ſeen in the city; and there he poſted centinels, inſtructed by him in what manner to make their ſignals, when the enemy approached or came to anchor. He then ordered twenty captains of his own fleet to be ready to follow him at the call of the herald; and gave out, that ſuch as were not ready at the call muſt not complain at being puniſhed for their neglect. So ſoon therefore as the ſignal was made that theſe ſhips were approaching, and the herald had made the call, ſuch diligence enſued as cauſed a fine ſpectacle indeed: for not a man of thoſe, who were to act upon this occaſion, but ran full ſpeed on board his ſhip. Having now ſtood away to the ſpot where the ſhips of the enemy were arrived, he findeth that from the reſt of the ſquadron the men were already gotten on ſhore, whilſt Melanippus the Rhodian was calling out upon them by no means to linger there, and himſelf with all his crew on board was getting out to ſea. Melanippus by this means eſcaped, though he met with the ſhips of Iphicrates: but all the Syracuſan ſhips were taken with their crews. And Iphicrates, after cutting off the beaks of theſe ſhips, brought them into the harbour of Corcyra. He then fixed a certain ſum which each of the priſoners muſt pay for his ranſom, except Anippus their commander. Him he confined under a cloſe guard, as if he expected a vaſt ſum for him, or otherwiſe would ſell him. Anippus was ſo highly chagrined at this uſage, that he choſe to die by his own hand. And Iphicrates, taking ſecurity from the Corcyreans for the payment of their ranſom, gave their liberty to the reſt.

He after this ſubſiſted his mariners by employing them in works of tillage for the Corcyreans, but with the targeteers and heavy-armed of the fleet he paſſed over himſelf to Acarnania. He there gave aid to all ſuch of the cities in friendſhip as needed it, and made war upon the Thurians, a very warlike people and poſſeſſed of a place ſtrongly fortified. Then fetching away the fleet from

Corcyra, now conſiſting of about ninety ſhips, he went firſt to Cephallene to raiſe contributions, and exacted them from all perſons whether willing or unwilling. He then prepared to lay waſte the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and to reduce the other cities of the enemy in thoſe parts, if they deſired it, by an accommodation; but, if they ſtood out, by war. For my own part, I have a deal of commendation to beſtow on Iphicrates for his conduct during this command, but above all for getting Calliſtratus the popular haranguer, a man not eaſy to be managed, and Chabrias who was reckoned an excellent general, aſſociated with him in it. For if he judged them men of ſenſe, and therefore deſired to be aſſiſted with their counſel, in my opinion he acted the prudent part: or, in caſe he regarded them as enemies, why then he ſhewed his noble ſpirit, in being thus confident that they ſhould diſcern no bad management and no negligence in him. And theſe were the acts of Iphicrates.

Year before Chriſt, 372. *A peace negotiated.*

But the Athenians, who now ſaw their friends the Platæans driven out of Bœotia and forced to take refuge at Athens, and the inhabitants of Theſpiæ offering their petitions, that "they "(the Athenians) would not ſtand quiet and let them be ſtripped "of their city," could no longer approve the conduct of the Thebans. They were reſtrained by ſhame from an open rupture, and by the reflexion too that it would be prejudicial to their own intereſt. Yet they poſitively refuſed to act any more in participation with them, when they ſaw them invade the Phocians who had long been in friendſhip with the State of Athens, and utterly deſtroying cities that had been faithful in the war with the Barbarians and ſteddily attached to themſelves. The people of Athens were now perſuaded to paſs a decree for negotiating a peace, and accordingly ſent in the firſt place embaſſadors to Thebes with an invitation to go with them to Lacedæmon, if it ſuited their own inclinations, about a peace. And then they diſpatched

patched away their own embaſſadors. The perſons choſen for this employ were Callias the ſon of Hipponicus, Autocles the ſon of Strombichides, Demoſtratus the ſon of Ariſtophon, Ariſtocles, Cephiſodotus, Melanopus, Lycanthus. When they were admitted to audience before the Council of State at Lacedæmon and the confederates, Calliſtratus the popular haranguer was with them. He had promiſed Iphicrates, if he would give him his diſmiſſion, either to procure him money for his fleet, or to make a peace; he accordingly had been at Athens and ſolicited a peace. But when they were introduced to the Council of State at Lacedæmon and the confederates, Callias, whoſe office it was to bear the torch in the Eleuſinian myſteries, was the firſt that ſpoke. He was a man that took as much delight in praiſing himſelf as in being praiſed by others. He began on this occaſion, and ſpoke to this effect:

Speech of Callias.

" I am not, Lacedæmonians, the only perſon of my family, " who hath been the public hoſt of your community. My Fa- " ther and his Father too were ſo before me, and delivered the " honour down to me as the privilege of my birth. I am deſi- " rous too to perſuade you all, that Athens hath continually per- " ſiſted in ſhewing favour to us. For, whenever there is war, " our Athens, our own community, chuſeth us to command " their armies; and when peace is again deſired, ſendeth us to " negotiate a peace. Nay, twice already have I been at Lace- " dæmon to negotiate accommodations; both times ſo ſucceſs- " fully, that I made peace between *us* and *you*. I am now a third " time employed, and think I have more abundant reaſon than " ever to depend upon a mutual reconciliation. For now I ſee " clearly, that *you* are not intent upon one ſyſtem and *we* upon " another; but both of us are united in indignation for the ruin " of Platæa and Theſpiæ. What therefore can hinder men, whoſe " ſentiments are exactly the ſame, from chuſing to be friends ra- " ther than enemies to one another?

" It

" It is indeed the part of wiſe men, not haſtily to have recourſe " to arms, even though conſiderable diſſentions ariſe. But when " their ſentiments of things exactly coincide, will it not be won- " derful indeed, if ſuch perſons cannot agree upon a peace? Com- " mon juſtice, it is true, hath always laid it as a duty upon us, " never to make war upon one another. For it is acknowledged " by all the world, that our progenitor Triptolemus communi- " cated the ineffable myſteries of Ceres and Proſerpine to Hercules " your founder and to the Dioſcuri [1] your countrymen, the firſt " time he did it to foreigners; and Peloponneſus was the firſt " foreign land, on which he generouſly beſtowed the fruits of " Ceres. How therefore could it be juſt, that *you* ſhould ever " in an hoſtile manner enter upon the lands and ravage the fruits " of thoſe, from whom you firſt received your ſeed? or, that *we* " ever ſhould wiſh, that the very people, on whom we beſtowed " it, ſhould not enjoy in higheſt plenty the needful ſuſtenance " of life? But if the fates decree that war muſt take place amongſt " mankind, it is our part to begin it on all occaſions with the " utmoſt reluctance; and, when once begun, to bring it to an " end with our utmoſt expedition."

After him Autocles, who was looked upon as an orator of great art and addreſs, harangued them thus:

Speech of Autocles.

" I am going to ſay ſome things, Lacedæmonians, which I am " very ſenſible you will not hear with pleaſure. But I am well " perſuaded, that men who are deſirous of peace, and to ſettle " that peace in ſuch a manner that it may be of laſting continu- " ance, ſhould not be ſhy in putting one another in remembrance " of the reaſons of the previous wars. You, Lacedæmonians, " are ever giving out, that the cities of Greece ought to be free " and independent; whilſt after all yourſelves are the greateſt " hinderers of that freedom and independence. The very firſt

[1] *Caſtor* and *Pollux*.

" condi-

" condition you make with all the cities that enter into your " confederacy is, that they ſhall march along with you where- " ſoever you lead them. And can this in any ſhape be conſiſtent " with freedom and independence? You declare enemies what " people you pleaſe, without any previous conſultation of your " confederates; and then lead on the latter to make war upon " them; inſomuch that theſe free and independent people, as " they are called, are often obliged to take the field againſt men " to whom they bear the moſt benevolent affection.

" Again, and what of all things is moſt repugnant to a ſtate " of freedom and independence, you eſtabliſh in ſome cities the " government of *ten*, and in others of *thirty* perſons. You take " no care at all, that theſe governors ſhould rule according to " laws, but merely that by oppreſſive methods they keep the " cities in faſt ſubjection to yourſelves. In a word, you have " convinced mankind, that not a polity but a tyranny is moſt " agreeable to your own inclinations.

" When farther the Perſian Monarch ſignified his pleaſure that " the cities ſhould be free and independent, you then made frank " and open declarations, that the Thebans could in no wiſe be " judged to conform to the King's intention, unleſs they per- " mitted each ſingle city to be maſter of itſelf, and to make uſe " of laws of their own proper choice. And yet, when you had " ſeized the citadel of Thebes, you would not ſuffer even theſe " Thebans to be free and independent.

" Men, let me add, who ſincerely deſire peace ought not to " expect from others a thorough compliance with their own de- " mands, whilſt they manifeſt an ambition to engroſs all power " to themſelves."

When Autocles had ſpoken thus, the conſequence was, not only a general ſilence in the aſſembly, but an inward pleaſure in the hearts of thoſe who were diſpleaſed at the Lacedæmonian conduct.

But

But after him Callistratus spoke:

Speech of Callistratus.

"Far be it from me, Lacedæmonians, to think that I could "truly aver, that nothing wrong hath been done either by *you* "or by *us*. And I am as far from thinking on the other hand, "that all intercourse must for ever be stopped with men who "once do wrong: because I cannot see any mortal alive, who "goeth through life without committing some offence. It is "rather my own opinion, that sometimes men who have offended "become afterwards more tractable and better-tempered; espe- "cially, if they have been chastised for those offences, as we "Athenians have been. I see, Lacedæmonians, in your beha- "vior too, some offences incurred for want of temper and re- "flection, for which you have since been abundantly crossed. "But I shall produce no other instance of this at present, than "your seizure of the citadel of Thebes. And hence it is, since "this flagrant injury you did the Thebans, that all the cities, "in whose favor you once so earnestly exerted yourselves to re- "store them to freedom and independence, have united with the "Thebans against you. I hope you are now convinced, how "prejudicial it is to grasp at too much power, and are resolved "for the future to use moderation, and to be steddy in reciprocal "friendship with others.

"There are people I know, who intending to dissuade you "from a peace with us mischievously insinuate, that we ask it not "from sincerity of heart, but are brought hither by the fears "we are under, lest Antalcidas may return with a fresh supply "of money from the King of Persia. But consider, and be con- "vinced that such people are arrant triflers. The King, it is "well known, hath told us in writing, that *all the cities in Greece* "*should be left free and independent*. For our own parts, we con- "form both in word and deed to the intention of the King. "What reason have we therefore to apprehend any thing from "him?

" him? Is there a perſon ſo weak as to imagine, that the King
" had rather ſubject himſelf to a vaſt expence, and only to make
" other people great, than to accompliſh what he thinketh is
" beſt for himſelf, without making any expence at all? Be it ſo.
" For what reaſon then are we come hither? Not becauſe we
" are totally diſtreſſed; yourſelves may perceive the contrary, if
" you will ſurvey the preſent ſituation of our affairs at ſea, and
" if you will ſurvey the ſituation of them too at land. But
" what then is our meaning? It is plain to be diſcerned, ſince
" there are ſeveral of the confederates who behave in ſuch a
" manner as can be pleaſing neither to us nor to you. Perhaps,
" after all, our chief motive may be, to communicate our own
" ſentiments of things to you in requital for the kindneſs you
" did us in preſerving Athens.

" But at preſent I ſhall only inſiſt on the point of reciprocal
" intereſt. It is true of all the Cities of Greece, that ſome by
" principle are more attached to us, and ſome to you: 'tis the
" caſe in every city, one party declares for the Lacedæmonian
" and another for the Athenian intereſt. If we therefore unite
" in friendſhip with one another, from what quarter can we
" with reaſon expect any effectual oppoſition? For who in good
" truth is the perſon, who, when you are our friends, can pre-
" ſume at doing us Athenians any harm by land? And who will
" dare to annoy you Lacedæmonians by ſea, when we are chear-
" ful and warm in your ſervice? Wars, it muſt be granted, are
" for ever breaking out between us; and accommodations, as we
" well know, are ſoon again brought on. And, though it be
" not our caſe at preſent, yet the caſe will happen again and
" again, that we ſhall be deſirous of a peace with you. But what
" reaſon can there be to put off our reconciliation to that diſtant
" day, when through the weight of diſtreſs we may be grown
" quite deſperate, rather than to ſettle all things by an immediate

" peace, before any irremediable diſaſter hath taken place? For
" my part, I ingenuouſly own it, I never could commend thoſe
" champions in the public games, who, after a ſeries of victory
" and a large acquiſition of glory, are ſo litigiouſly ambitious of
" more, that they never can ſtop, till they are ſhamefully beaten
" and compelled to forego the liſts for ever after. Nor can I
" commend thoſe gameſters, who, after having gained the ſtake,
" will ſuffer it to be doubled and throw again. Moſt of thoſe
" who play with ſo much avidity I have ſeen reduced to utter
" beggary. We ought therefore to catch inſtruction from ſuch
" examples, and not reduce our conteſt to that ſtate of deſpera-
" tion, that we muſt either win all or loſe all. But whilſt we
" yet are vigorous, whilſt we yet are happy, let us become friends
" to one another. For then *we* through *you*, and *you* through *us*,
" may yet make a greater figure, than hitherto we have ever made
" in Greece."

A peace concluded with all but the Thebans.

This ſpeech met with general approbation, and the Lacedæmonians paſſed a decree to ſign a peace on the following terms; —— " To withdraw their commanders out of the cities; to diſ-
" band all forces both by land and ſea; and to leave the cities in
" a ſtate of freedom and independence. And in caſe any of theſe
" commanders refuſe to withdraw, any city that was willing
" might aſſiſt the injured cities; but ſuch as were not willing,
" might refuſe to act in defence of the injured, without being
" guilty of a breach of faith." On theſe conditions the Lacedæmonians ſwore to a peace for themſelves and their confederates; the Athenians and their confederates ſwore ſeverally in the name of their principals. Even the Thebans were entered down by name in the liſt of the States that ſwore; but their embaſſadors[2] made a freſh application the day after, and deſired that " the

[2] Epaminondas was one of them, and ſpoke with ſo much ſpirit on this occaſion that he ſadly nettled Ageſilaus.

" name

" name of *Bœotians* might be inſerted inſted of *Thebans*." Ageſilaus anſwered, that " he would not alter a letter of what they " had already ſworn to, and to which they had ſet their name. " If indeed they had no mind to be comprehended in the peace, " (he ſaid) he would readily at their own deſire expunge their " name." And now, all others having ſigned the peace, and the Thebans being ſingly excluded, the Athenians were perſuaded in their own minds, that the Thebans could no longer ſave themſelves even, as it is commonly ſaid, by a decimation. The Thebans alſo, judging themſelves in a deſperate ſituation, went their way.

After this the Athenians withdrew their garriſons out of the cities. They alſo recalled Iphicrates and the fleet, whom they obliged to reſtore all captures they had made ſince the peace was ſworn to at Lacedæmon. In like manner, the Lacedæmonians brought away their commandants and garriſons from the cities within their own dependence. Cleombrotus was excepted, who being now at the head of the troops in Phocis, ſent to the magiſtracy of Lacedæmon for orders how to act. Prothous had already declared that in his ſentiments, " they ought according to oath " to diſband their troops, and circulate an order to the cities to " make the preſent of a ſum of money, but at their own diſcre- " tion, to the temple of Apollo; and then, if any reſtraint was " laid on the freedom and independence of thoſe cities, they " ought to call their confederates together, ſo many as ſhould be " willing to aſſert this independence, and lead them out againſt " the authors of ſuch reſtraint. For by ſuch behavior (he ſaid) " it was his opinion the Gods would become more propitious to " them, and the cities have the leaſt ground for diſcontent." But the whole council of Lacedæmon, hearing him talk in this manner, looked upon him as a very trifler (for already it ſhould ſeem as if the wrath of heaven was driving them on), and diſ- Year before Chriſt, 371.

patched an order to Cleombrotus, not to diſband his troops, but to march immediately againſt the Thebans, unleſs they ſet the cities at liberty. Cleombrotus, I ſay, ſo ſoon as he heard the peace was made, ſent to the Ephori for inſtructions how to act, who ordered him to march againſt the Thebans, unleſs they ſet the cities of Bœotia at liberty. When therefore he was become aſſured, that ſo far from ſetting thoſe cities in liberty, they had not ſo much as diſbanded their army, but kept them in readineſs to make head againſt him, he marcheth his army into Bœotia. He took not the route, which the Bœotians imagined he would have taken out of Phocis and had poſted themſelves in a narrow paſs to ſtop him; but on a ſudden croſſing the mountains by the paſs of Thiſbe he arriveth at Cruſis, taketh the fortreſs there, and ſeizeth twelve triremes belonging to the Thebans. Having done this and marched upwards from the ſea, he encamped at Leuctra in the diſtrict of Theſpiæ. The Thebans [3] encamped their own troops on an oppoſite hill at no great diſtance from the enemy, having none of their confederates with them but thoſe of Bœotia.

The friends of Cleombrotus went to him here and diſcourſed him thus; —— "If, Cleombrotus, you now ſuffer theſe Thebans "to depart without a battle, you will be in danger of the ſevereſt "puniſhment from the State. They will then remember againſt "you, how formerly when you reached Cynoſcephale you com- "mitted no manner of devaſtation on the lands of the Thebans; "and that in the next campaign you were not able ſo much as "to enter their country, though Ageſilaus always broke in by "the paſs of Cithæron. If then you regard your own preſerva- "tion, or have any value at all for your country, you muſt give "the enemy battle." His friends diſcourſed him thus. His enemies ſaid —— "Now will this man convince the world, whe-

[3] Epaminondas was their Commander in chief.

"ther

" ther or no he be a friend to the Thebans, as fame reporteth " him." Cleombrotus of a truth, hearing theſe inſinuations, was provoked to fight.

On the other ſide, the chief men amongſt the Thebans were reckoning, " that if they did not fight the circumjacent cities " would revolt from them, and they muſt ſuffer a ſiege in Thebes; " and then, ſhould the people of Thebes be diſtreſſed for want " of neceſſaries, an inſurrection might be the conſequence." Many of them knew by experience what exile was; they determined therefore, " it was better to die in battle than to become " exiles a ſecond time." An oracle much talked of was alſo ſome encouragement to them. It imported that " the Lacedæ- " monians would be conquered on that ſpot of ground where " ſtood the monument of the Virgins," who are reported to have killed themſelves [4], becauſe they had been violated by ſome Lacedæmo-

[4] Other writers differ in this circumſtance. Plutarch relateth the whole ſtory thus: " A poor man, whoſe name was Scedaſus, dwelt at Leuctra, a village in the diſtrict of Theſpiæ. He had two daughters; their names were Hippo and Militia, or (as ſome ſay) Theano and Euxippe. Now Scedaſus was a good man, and though his ſubſtance was very ſmall exceedingly kind to ſtrangers. He received with chearful hoſpitality two young Spartans who came to his houſe; and they, though enamoured with the daughters, were ſo awed by Scedaſus's goodneſs, that they durſt make no attempt upon them. And next day they continued their journey to the Pythian Oracle, whither they were going. But after conſulting the God about the points in which they wanted his advice, they ſet out again for their own homes; and, after travelling through Bœotia, ſtopped again in their return at the houſe of Scedaſus. It happened that Scedaſus himſelf was abſent at this time from Leuctra, but his daughters received the ſtrangers and entertained them with the uſual hoſpitality, who finding them thus without protection or defence commit a rape upon them. But perceiving them full of indignation for the violence they had ſuffered, they put them to death, and then throwing their bodies into a well they went their way. Scedaſus on his return could ſee his daughters no where, and yet found every thing in the houſe as ſafe as he had left it. He knew not what to think, till a bitch whining at him, then ſeveral times running up-

dæmonians. The Thebans therefore adorned this monument before the battle. Intelligence was alſo brought them from Thebes, that

up to him and away from him again to the well, he gueſſed how it was, and at length draweth up by ropes the dead bodies of his daughters. Learning now upon enquiry from his neighbors, that they had ſeen the very Lacedæmonians who had formerly lodged with him go into his houſe again the day before, he concluded them to be the murderers, ſince on their firſt viſit they had abundantly praiſed the young laſſes, and affirmed that their huſbands would be very happy. He now ſet out for Lacedæmon, to beg juſtice from the Ephori. Night came upon him whilſt he was in the territory of Argos, and he turned in to an inn to lodge. There came into the ſame inn another traveller, an old man of Oreus a city of the Heſtiœa. Scedaſus, hearing him often groan and curſe the Lacedæmonians, aſked him what hurt the Lacedæmonians had done him? The traveller told him a dreadful ſtory about the murder of his ſon by a Lacedæmonian commandant, and though he had been with the Ephori at Sparta, they would not at all liſten to his complaints. Scedaſus, having heard this ſtory, was all deſpondency. He ſuſpected, the magiſtrates of Sparta would liſten as little to himſelf. Yet he related ſome part of his calamity to the ſtranger, who adviſed him, not to have recourſe to the Ephori, but to return into Bœotia, and build a tomb for his daughters. Scedaſus however would not comply with his advice; but going on to Sparta, laid his complaint before the Ephori. As they gave him no attention, he preſenteth himſelf before the Kings; and going from them to all the men in power, he let them know his deplorable caſe. But obtaining no juſtice from them, he ran through the midſt of the city, now raiſing his hands towards the ſun and now daſhing them againſt the ground, invoking the Furies to avenge him, and at length put an end to his own life. But in after times the Lacedæmonians paid dearly for it. For when they were maſters over all the Greeks, and had put garriſons into their cities, Epaminondas the Theban, to ſet a pattern to others, put their garriſon in Thebes to the ſword. And the Lacedæmonians for this reaſon making war upon them, the Thebans met them in the field at Leuctra. The very ground was an omen to them of victory. On it formerly they had recovered their liberty, when Amphictyon driven into exile by Sthenelus had refuged himſelf at Thebes, and finding the Thebans tributary to the Chalcideans, had put an end to the tribute by killing Chalcodon king of the Eubœans. And now on the ſame ſpot the Lacedæmonians were totally defeated at the very tomb of the daughters of Scedaſus. It is ſaid, that before the battle Pelopidas, one of the Theban generals, was highly alarmed at ſome incidents that he thought boded him ill ſucceſs, till Scedaſus appeared to him in a dream,

that all the temples had opened of their own accord, and the prieſteſſes declared that the Gods awarded them a victory. All the arms in the temple of Hercules were alſo ſaid to have diſappeared, as if Hercules himſelf was ſallied forth to battle. Some perſons after all pretend, that theſe things were only the artifices of the Generals.

Battle of Leuctra.

In regard to the battle, every thing turned out croſs on the ſide of the Lacedæmonians, whilſt fortune ſmoothed every difficulty on the ſide of the enemy. It was juſt after dinner that Cleombrotus held the laſt council about a battle. They had drunk briſkly at noon, and it was ſaid that the wine alſo was a provocative to fight. But when each ſide was armed, and it was plain a battle would be fought,——In the firſt place, the ſellers of proviſions and ſome of the baggage-men, all ſuch as had no inclination to fight, were departing from the camp of the Bœotians. But the mercenaries with Hiero, the targeteers from Phocis, and the horſemen from Heraclea and Phlius, fetched a compaſs, and meeting them full in their departure drove them back, and purſued them to the Bœotian camp. The conſequence was, they made the Bœotian army ſtronger and more numerous than it was before. In the next place, as there was a plain between them, the Lacedæmonians drew up and poſted their horſe before their phalanx; the Thebans alſo did the ſame. But then the horſe of the Thebans had been long in exerciſe becauſe of the war againſt the Orchomenians and the war againſt the Theſpians;

dream, and inſpired him with new confidence, ſince the Lacedæmonians were now caught at Leuctra and muſt ſuffer vengeance for his daughters: and the day before the battle was fought, he ordered a white colt to be ſacrificed at the tomb of the Virgins; nay, that whilſt the Lacedæmonians were encamped at Tegea, he ſent perſons to find out this tomb; and when he had learned from the people of the country where it ſtood, he marched his troops with high confidence to the ſpot, where he drew them up and gained a victory." Plutarch's *Love-Stories.*

whereas

whereas the Lacedæmonian cavalry had never been in a worſe condition than at preſent. The horſes were furniſhed by the wealthieſt perſons of the State; and, when a foreign expedition was declared, then came the appointed rider, who receiving ſuch an horſe and ſuch arms as they pleaſed to give him went immediately on ſervice. And thus, the weakeſt in body and the worſt-ſpirited part of the ſoldiery were generally mounted on the horſes. Such truly was the cavalry on both ſides.——In the Lacedæmonian phalanx, it was ſaid, that every platoon was drawn up three in front; conſequently, in depth they could not be more than twelve. But the Thebans were drawn up firm together not leſs than fifty ſhields in depth; reckoning, that could they break the body of the enemy poſted round the King, all the reſt of the army would be an eaſy conqueſt.

Cleombrotus *killed.*

But ſo ſoon as Cleombrotus began to advance towards the enemy, and even before the bulk of the army knew that he was in motion, the horſe had already engaged, and thoſe of the Lacedæmonians were immediately defeated, and in their flight fell in amongſt their own heavy-armed: and at that inſtant, the heavy-armed of the Thebans had made their attack. However, that the body poſted round Cleombrotus had at firſt the better in the fight, any man may have clear and certain proof from hence; ——For they could not have taken him up and carried him off yet alive, unleſs thoſe who fought before him had the better of it at that inſtant of time. But when Cleombrotus was dead, and Dinon a general-officer and Sphodrias of the King's council of war and his ſon Cleonymus were alſo ſlain, then the horſe-guard, and the adjutants of the general-officer and the reſt, being quite over-powered by the weight of the enemy, were forced to retire. The Lacedæmonians who compoſed the left, when they ſaw the right thus driven from their ground, quitted their own ground too. Yet, after a terrible ſlaughter and a total defeat, ſo ſoon as they had

had repaſſed the trench which was round their camp, they grounded their arms on the very ſpot from whence they had marched out to battle; for the ground of their camp was not quite on a level, it was rather an aſcent. And now there were ſome of the Lacedæmonians, who, judging their defeat to be an inſupportable diſgrace, declared againſt ſuffering the enemy to erect a trophy, againſt fetching off their dead by truce, but rather to endeavor to recover them by another battle. But the general-officers, who ſaw that in all near a thouſand Lacedæmonians were ſlain; who ſaw that of ſeven hundred *Spartans* belonging to their army about four hundred were killed; who perceived beſides, that all the confederates were averſe to fighting again, and ſome of them too not even ſorry for what had happened; calling a council of the moſt proper perſons, demanded their advice of what ought to be done. And when it was unanimouſly agreed, that "they ought "to fetch off the dead by truce," they ſent a herald to beg the truce. And then truly the Thebans erected a trophy and delivered up the dead.

Notice at Sparta.

Theſe things being done, a meſſenger ſent to Lacedæmon with the news of this calamity arriveth there on the laſt day of the *naked Games*, and when the *chorus* of men had juſt made their entry. The Ephori, when they heard of the calamity, were grievouſly concerned, and in my opinion could not poſſibly avoid it; but they ordered not the *chorus* to withdraw, letting them finiſh the games. And then they ſent round the names of the dead to the relations of each, with an order to the women to make no noiſe, and to bear the calamity in ſilence. But the day after, ſuch perſons as were related to any of the ſlain appeared in public, and the ſigns of pleaſure and joy were viſible in their faces; whilſt you could ſee but few of thoſe whoſe relations were reported to be yet alive, and they too walked up and down diſcontented and dejected.

In the next place, the Ephori ordered the two remaining brigades to march, not excepting ſuch perſons as had been forty years in the ſervice. They ordered out alſo ſuch of the ſame ſtanding as belonged to the brigades already abroad. For ſuch as had been thirty-five years in the ſervice marched out before in the army that went againſt the Phocians. They even injoined the very perſons who were left at home to ſerve the offices of ſtate to march out on this occaſion. Ageſilaus indeed was not yet recovered of his illneſs: the State therefore ordered his ſon Archidamus to take upon him the command. The Tegeatæ with great chearfulneſs took the field along with Archidamus: for the party of Staſippus, ever ſtrongly attached to the Lacedæmonians, were yet alive, and had a very great influence at Tegea. The Mantineans too with all their ſtrength marched out of their villages and joined him, for they were under an ariſtocratical government. The Corinthians too and Sicyonians and Phliaſians and Achæans very chearfully followed him; and other cities too ſent out their troops. The Lacedæmonians immediately fitted out their own triremes; the Corinthians did the ſame, and begged the Sicyonians to do ſo too, as the Lacedæmonians had thoughts of tranſporting the army by ſea. And in the mean time Archidamus was offering ſacrifices for a ſucceſsful expedition.

Notified at Athens.

The Thebans immediately after the battle diſpatched a herald to Athens with a garland on his head, whom they ordered at the ſame time to notify the greatneſs of the victory and to requeſt their aid, ſaying that "now it was in their power to be revenged "on the Lacedæmonians for all the evil they had ever done "them." The ſenate of Athens happened to be ſitting in the citadel. And when they heard the news, it was plain to all men that they were heartily mortified at it. For they neither invited the herald to take any refreſhment, nor made any reply to the requeſt of aid. And in this manner the herald returned from Athens.

The

The Thebans however ſent in all haſte to Jaſon their ally, preſſing him to come and join them. Their thoughts were wholly intent on what might be the conſequence of this battle. Jaſon at once manned out his triremes, as if he would repair by ſea to their aſſiſtance; but then, taking with him his body of mercenaries and his own horſe, even though the Phocians were in implacable hoſtility with him, he marched by land into Bœotia; making his entry into ſeveral cities, before any news could be brought that he was on the march. And before any ſtrength could be collected to ſtop him, he was advanced quite beyond their reach; exhibiting a certain proof, that expedition carrieth a point much better than ſtrength. And when he was gotten into Bœotia, the Thebans declaring for an immediate attack on the Lacedæmonians, Jaſon to pour down upon them from the hills with his mercenaries, whilſt themſelves charged them full in front, he diſſuaded them from it, remonſtrating to them that "after ſo noble a victory, it was not worth their while to run "the hazard of either gaining a greater or loſing the fruits of the "victory already gained. Are you not aware (ſaid he) that you "have juſt now conquered, becauſe you were neceſſitated to "fight? You ſhould remember therefore, that the Lacedæmo-"nians, when neceſſitated too to fight for their very beings, will "fight with the utmoſt deſperation. And God, it muſt be "owned, often taketh delight in making the little great and the "great little." By ſuch remonſtrances he diſſuaded the Thebans from running any freſh hazards. On the other ſide he was teaching the Lacedæmonians, what a difference there was between a vanquiſhed and a victorious army.—— "If therefore (ſaid he) "you are deſirous to extinguiſh the memory of your late cala-"mity, I adviſe you to breathe a while; and when you are grown "ſtronger, then to fight again againſt theſe unconquered The-"bans. But at preſent (ſaid he) you may reſt aſſured, that

And to Jaſon.

" there are ſome even of your own confederates, who are in " treaty with your enemies. By all means endeavour to obtain " a peace for yourſelves. I will equally endeavor to procure one " for you, as I deſire nothing but your preſervation, becauſe of " the friendſhip my Father had for you, and becauſe I myſelf by " the laws of hoſpitality am connected with you." In this manner he talked; and his motive poſſibly might be, that both theſe diſcordant parties might be reduced to a dependance upon himſelf. The Lacedæmonians therefore, having hearkened to his advice, deſired him to procure them a peace. But ſo ſoon as word was brought them that a peace was granted, the General-officers iſſued out an order, for all the troops to be ready immediately after ſupper, ſince they ſhould march off by night; that next morning by day-break they might paſs Mount Cithæron. When ſupper was over, before they could ſleep, the order was iſſued for a march, and immediately after the ſhut of evening their officers led them off by the road of Cruſis, confiding more in the ſecrecy of their march than in the peace. And after a very difficult march indeed, ſince it was by night, in a very dejected mood, and through very bad roads, they reach Ægoſthena in the territory of Megara. There they met with the army under the command of Archidamus. He halted there with them till all the confederates were come in, and then led them off in one body to Corinth. At Corinth he diſmiſſed the confederates, and led home the domeſtic troops to Lacedæmon.

The great power of Jaſon.

As to Jaſon, he returned back through Phocis, where he took the ſuburbs of Hyampolis, laid the adjacent country waſte, and ſlew many perſons; and then continued his march forwards through the reſt of Phocis in an orderly and quiet manner. But when he was come to Heraclea, he demoliſhed the fortifications of that place. It is plain he was under no fear of opening a road to an enemy againſt himſelf by laying open this important paſs. In fact, his

his true motive was, leſt any ſhould ſeize Heraclea that is ſituated ſo commodiouſly in the *ſtreight*, and hinder him from marching into Greece at his own pleaſure. On his return into Theſſaly, he became great indeed, as well becauſe by law he was *Supreme Governor* of the Theſſalians, as becauſe he kept conſtantly about him a large body of mercenary troops, both horſe and foot, and theſe ſo finely diſciplined as to excel all other troops in the world. He was greater ſtill through the large number of confederates he already had, and the number of thoſe who were deſirous of his alliance. But he was greateſt of all in his own perſonal character, ſince no man could deſpiſe him. The Pythian games were now approaching; he therefore circulated his orders to the cities to fatten oxen and ſheep and goats and ſwine, and prepare for the ſacrifice. It was ſaid, that though a moderate number was demanded from each ſeparate city, yet the number of oxen amounted to not leſs than a thouſand, and all other cattle together roſe in number to above ten thouſand. He alſo made public proclamation, that whatever city fed the fineſt ox to lead up the ſacrifice to the God, ſhould be rewarded with a prize of a golden crown. He alſo iſſued out his orders to the Theſſalians to be ready to take the field at the time of the Pythian games. For he intended, as was ſaid, to preſide himſelf in the ſolemn aſſembly at the games in honour of the God. Whether indeed he had any intention to meddle with the ſacred treaſures remaineth yet uncertain. For it is reported, that when the Delphians aſked—— "What muſt be "done, in caſe Jaſon meddled with the treaſures of the God?" the anſwer of the God was—— "he himſelf would take care "of that." Yet after all, this extraordinary man, big with ſuch great and ſplendid ſchemes, when after reviewing and ſcrutinizing the condition of the cavalry of Pheræ he had ſet himſelf down, and was giving anſwers to ſuch as were offering petitions, is aſſaſſinated and murdered by ſeven young men, who came up to him

Year before Chriſt, 370.

His murder.

with an air of having a diſpute for him to ſettle. His guards indeed who were at hand beſtirred themſelves with ſpirit, and one of the aſſaſſins whilſt ſtriking at Jaſon was killed by the thruſt of a ſpear; another was ſtopped as he was getting on horſeback, and put to death by a great number of wounds; but the reſt mounted the horſes, that were ready prepared for them, and made their eſcape; and in whatever cities of Greece they afterwards appeared, were generally received with honour. From whence it is plain, how much the Grecians dreaded Jaſon, leſt he ſhould turn out a Tyrant.

An account of his ſucceſſors.

After the murder of Jaſon, Polydorus his brother and Polyphron were appointed *Supreme Leaders* of Theſſaly. But as they were going in company to Lariſſa, Polydorus dieth ſuddenly in his bed by night, and as was judged by the hands of his brother Polyphron. His death certainly was very ſudden, and there was no other probable method of accounting for it. Polyphron held the *ſupremacy* for a year, and behaved in his office quite like a tyrant. For at Pharſalus he put to death Polydamas and eight more of the moſt illuſtrious Pharſalians, and from Lariſſa drove ſeveral perſons into exile. For theſe outragious acts he too is killed by Alexander, who pretended to be avenging the death of Polydorus and demoliſhing the tyranny. But when he had gotten the power in his own hands, he proved a terrible governor indeed to the Theſſalians, terrible alſo to the Thebans, an enemy further to the Athenians, and an arrant robber both by land and ſea. Such was his real character, and as ſuch he is put to death, by the hands of his wife's brothers, but entirely by her contrivance. For ſhe told her brothers that Alexander had a deſign upon their lives; ſhe concealed them therefore a whole day in the houſe. She received Alexander quite drunk into her chamber at night; and as ſoon as he was aſleep ſhe left the lamp ſtill burning, but carried out his ſword. And when ſhe perceived that her brothers

were

were afraid of going into the chamber to kill him, ſhe told them if they bogled any longer, ſhe would go and awake him. So ſoon as they were in it, ſhe herſelf ſecured the door and held the bolt in her hand till her huſband was diſpatched. The reaſon of her enmity to Alexander is ſuppoſed to be this, that Alexander had impriſoned his page a beautiful youth, and when ſhe begged hard for his liberty, he brought him out and put him to death. Others ſay, it was, becauſe, having no children by her, he had ſent to Thebes and entered into engagements to marry Jaſon's widow. The reaſons of this plot againſt his life by the Lady are given in this manner. But Tiſiphonus, the eldeſt of the brothers who were agents in his murder, ſucceeded to his power, and hath continued in poſſeſſion of it till the time this Hiſtory is writing. And thus the affairs of Theſſaly under the management of Jaſon, and down to the time of Tiſiphonus, have now been opened. I return to the place from whence I digreſſed to give this recital.

Conſequences of the battle of Leuctra in Greece.

When Archidamus, who had marched to the relief of thoſe at Leuctra, had brought the army back, the Athenians began to reflect, that the Peloponneſians would ſtill reckon it their duty to follow the Lacedæmonians, who were not yet reduced ſo low as they had reduced the Athenians. They ſummoned therefore the States, who were willing to be parties in the peace preſcribed by the King of Perſia. When all were aſſembled, they decreed, in conjunction with thoſe who were willing to be parties, that the following oath ſhould be taken, —— "I will abide by the peace "which the King hath ſent and the decrees of the Athenians "and their confederates. And in caſe any enemy maketh war "upon any State that hath taken this oath, I will aſſiſt that "State with all my ſtrength." All others preſent were ſatisfied with this oath; but the Eleans objected to it, "ſince they ought "not thus to make the Marganians and Scilluntians and Triphyl-"lians free and independent, all whoſe cities belonged to them."

The

The Athenians however and the reſt, having ratified the decree according to the King's mandate, that "the cities whether great "or ſmall ſhould be left equally free and inpedendent," ſent out a deputation to adminiſter the oath, and ordered that "the chief "magiſtrates in every city ſhould take it." And all took this oath except the Eleans.

Reſentment of Mantinea.

The conſequence was, that the Mantineans, who now looked upon themſelves as ſovereign maſters of their own concerns, aſſembled together in a body, and reſolved to ſettle again in the city of Mantinea and fortify it as their own. But on the other hand, the Lacedæmonians judged, that if this was done without their conſent, they ſhould be much aggrieved. They ſend Ageſilaus therefore embaſſador to the Mantineans, becauſe he was eſteemed their hereditary friend. At his arrival, the men in power would not grant him an audience of the *people*, but ordered him to communicate his buſineſs to them alone. He then made them a promiſe, that "if they would deſiſt at preſent from for-"tifying Mantinea, he would engage that the State of Lacedæ-"mon ſhould ſoon conſent to it, and eaſe them in the expence "of doing it." But when they anſwered, that "it was im-"poſſible to deſiſt, ſince their whole community had joined in "the reſolution for doing it," Ageſilaus in great wrath departed. It was not however judged poſſible to ſtop them by force, ſince the grand article of peace was *freedom* and *independence*. And now ſome cities of Arcadia ſent in their people to the Mantineans to aſſiſt them in carrying on the fortification; and the Eleans preſented them with thirty talents * of ſilver towards defraying the expence of the work. And in this manner were the Mantineans very buſy.

* 5932 *l.* 10*s.*

A ſedition at Tegea.

At Tegea, the party of Callibius and Proxenus were ſtriving to get a general meeting of the whole body of Arcadians, in which whatever meaſures were voted by a majority ſhould have the force

of

of laws to all their cities. But the party of Stasippus was for leaving each city in its present separation and in the enjoyment of their primitive constitutions. The party of Proxenus and Callibius, who were overpowered in all the sessions, imagining that in a general assembly of the people they should quite out-vote their opponents, bring out their arms. The party of Stasippus, perceiving this, armed also to oppose them, and were not inferior to them in number. But when they came to an engagement, they kill Proxenus and a few more with him; and, tho' they put the others to flight, went not after them in pursuit. For Stasippus was a man of that temper, that he would not put many of his fellow-citizens to death. But those with Callibius, having retreated to the part of the wall and the gates towards Mantinea, as their enemy gave them no farther annoyance, posted themselves there in a body. They had sent beforehand to the Mantineans to beg assistance, and the party of Stasippus now came to them with proposals of reconciliation. But the Mantineans no sooner appeared in sight, than some leaping upon the wall pressed them to advance with their utmost expedition, shouting aloud at them to make all possible haste, whilst others throw open the gates for their entrance. When the party of Stasippus found out what was done, they make their escape through the gates that lead to Palantium, and before their pursuers could overtake them fly away in safety to the temple of Diana, where they shut themselves up and remained in quiet. But their enemies who came up in pursuit, after climbing the temple and stripping off the roof, pelted them with tiles. Conscious therefore of their own distressful situation, they begged them to stop their hands, and promised to come out. But their enemies, after thus getting them in their power, bound them fast, and putting them in a carriage drove them back to Tegea; and there, supported by the Mantineans, they formally put them to death. And after this the Tegeatæ,

who were of the party of Staſippus, to the number of about eight hundred, fled to Lacedæmon.

The Lacedæmonians now reſolved it to be their duty to take the field with the utmoſt haſte in the cauſe of the dead and the exiled Tegeatæ. Accordingly they make war upon the Mantineans, becauſe contrary to their oaths they had marched in a hoſtile manner againſt the Tegeatæ. The Ephori proclaimed a foreign expedition, and the State ordered Ageſilaus to take upon him the command. The reſt of the Arcadians were by this time aſſembled at Aſea; but, as the Orchomenians had declared againſt all participation in the Arcadian league becauſe of their enmity to the Mantineans, and had even received into their city a body of mercenaries commanded by Polytropus which had been drawn together at Corinth, the Mantineans ſtaid at home to look after their own concerns. But the Heræans and Lepreatæ joined with the Lacedæmonians in marching againſt the Mantineans. And Ageſilaus, when the ſacrifices for a ſucceſsful expedition were finiſhed, marched without loſs of time into Arcadia.

Ageſilaus takes the field.

He firſt took poſſeſſion of Eutæa a town on the frontier. He found in the houſes of this place old-men, women, and children, whilſt all the fighting men were gone to join the Arcadic body. He did no harm at all to the city, but ſuffered theſe people ſtill to continue in the houſes, and his ſoldiers paid regularly for whatever they wanted. Or, if any thing had been taken by force when he entered the place, after a proper ſearch he cauſed it to be reſtored. He alſo repaired ſuch parts of the walls as needed it, whilſt he halted there in expectation of the mercenaries under Polytropus.

In the mean time the Mantineans take the field againſt the Orchomenians. But after ſhewing themſelves before the walls, they found it a work of toil to make good their retreat, and ſome of them were ſlain on this occaſion. But when they had ſecured their

retreat as far as to Elymia, and the heavy-armed Orchomenians no longer purſued them, whilſt the body under Polytropus kept plying on their rear with great impetuoſity, the Mantineans were now convinced that, unleſs they could beat them back, a great part of their own people would periſh by the miſſive weapons, upon which they ſuddenly faced about, and advancing cloſe up to them gave the charge. And there Polytropus died fighting. The reſt taking to flight, many of them had been ſlain, had not the Phliaſian horſe come up that inſtant, and by riding round to the rear of the Mantineans obliged them to ſtop all purſuit. And after theſe tranſactions the Mantineans departed to their own home.

Ageſilaus, having heard theſe things, and judging now that the mercenaries from Orchomenus would not join him, ſet forwards from Eutæa. After the firſt day's march he ſupped his army in the diſtrict of Tegea; but in the ſecond day's march, he paſſeth over into the dominions of Mantinea, and encamped under the mountains of Mantinea which lay to the weſt; and from thence he ravaged the country, and laid waſte all the cultivated ground. The Arcadians however who had aſſembled at Aſea marched by night into Tegea. The next day Ageſilaus encamped his army at the diſtance of about * twenty *ſtadia* from Mantinea. The Arcadians from Tegea were now approaching with a very numerous body of heavy-armed, marching between the mountains of Mantinea and Tegea, and bent on compleating their junction with the Mantineans. The Argives however had not yet joined them with all their force. Some perſons therefore adviſed Ageſilaus to attack them before the Argives came up. But apprehenſive, that whilſt he was advancing againſt them the Mantineans might ſally out of their city, and then he might be attacked both in flank and rear; he judged it moſt prudent to let them compleat their junction; and then, if they had a mind to fight, he could

He invades Mantinea.

* *About two miles.*

engage them upon fair and equal terms. But now that the Arcadians had compleated this junction, when the targeteers from Orchomenus, accompanied by the horſemen from Phlius, after marching by night under the walls of Mantinea, appear at break of day within the view of Ageſilaus, who was ſacrificing in the front of the camp, they made all others run to their poſts, and Ageſilaus retire to his heavy-armed. But when they were diſcovered to be friends, and Ageſilaus had ſacrificed with favorable omens, after dinner he led the army forwards; and at the approach of night he encamped, unobſerved by the enemy, in a valley behind but very near Mantinea, and ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains. The next day, ſo ſoon as it was light, he ſacrificed in the front of his camp: and diſcovering the Mantineans were come out of the city and gathering together on the mountains in the rear of his camp, he found the neceſſity of getting out of this valley without loſs of time. But now, in caſe he led the way in the van, he was apprehenſive the enemy might attack his rear. He therefore ſtood to his poſt, and making the heavy-armed face towards the enemy, he ordered thoſe in the rear to make a wheel to the right and march behind the phalanx on towards him. In this manner he got them out of this narrow ground, and was continually adding ſtrength to the phalanx. And when once it was doubled, he advanced into the plain with his heavy-armed in this arangement, and then opened the whole army again into files of nine or ten ſhields in depth. The Mantineans however gave him no oppoſition. For the Eleans, who now had joined them, perſuaded them by no means to give him battle till the Thebans were come up. They ſaid "they were well aſſured "the Thebans would ſoon be with them, ſince themſelves had "lent them ten talents * to forward their march." And the Arcadians, hearing this account, reſted quietly in Mantinea.

* 1977*l.* 10*s.*

But

He retires without fighting.

But Ageſilaus, tho' vaſtly deſirous to march the army off, for it was now the middle of winter, yet continued three days longer in his poſt, at no great diſtance from the city of Mantinea, that he might not ſeem to be too much in a hurry to be gone. Yet on the fourth day, after dinner, he led them off with a deſign to encamp on the ground he had encamped on before after the firſt day's march from Eutæa. But as none of the Arcadians appeared in ſight, he marched with all ſpeed quite as far as Eutæa, though it was exceeding late before he reached it, deſirous to carry off the heavy-armed before they could ſee the enemy's fires, that no one might ſay his departure was a flight. He judged that he had done enough to raiſe the ſpirits of his countrymen after the late dejection with which they had been oppreſſed, ſince he had broken into Arcadia, and no one durſt give him battle whilſt he was laying the country waſte. And ſo ſoon as he was returned into Laconia, he ſent the Spartans home, and diſmiſſed the *neighboring* people to their reſpective cities.

Year before Chriſt, 369. *Invaſion of* Laconia.

The Arcadians, now that Ageſilaus was gone, and as they heard had diſbanded the army, ſince they were all aſſembled in a body, march againſt the Heræans, becauſe they would not be aſſociated in the Arcadian league and had joined the Lacedæmonians in the invaſion of Arcadia. They broke into their country, where they ſet the houſes on fire and cut down the trees. But as now they received intelligence that the Theban aid was come to Mantinea, they evacuate Heræa and join the Thebans. When they were thus all together, the Thebans thought they had done enough for their honour, ſince they had marched to the aid of their friends, and found the enemy had quite evacuated their country, and therefore they were preparing to return home. But the Arcadians and Argives and Eleans perſuaded them to march without loſs of time into Laconia, expatiating much on their own numbers, and crying up to the ſkies this Theban army [5]:

[5] Epaminondas and Pelopidas were chief Commanders of it.

for

for in fact, the Bœotians had kept to the conſtant exerciſe of arms ever ſince they had been elated with their victory at Leuctra. They were now attended by the Phocians, whom they had reduced to ſubjection; by the people of every city in Eubœa; by both the Locrians, and the Acarnanians, and the Heracleots, and the Malienſians. They had alſo with them ſome horſemen and targeteers from Theſſaly. Delighted with ſo fine an army, and inſiſting on the deſolate condition of Lacedæmon, they earneſtly intreated them, "not to go home again without making an ir-"ruption into the dominions of the Lacedæmonians." The Thebans, after giving them the hearing, alledged on the other ſide, that "to break into Laconia was a very difficult undertaking at "beſt, and they took it for granted that proper guards were "poſted at the places that were eaſieſt of acceſs." For in fact Iſcholaus kept guard at Ium in the Skiritis with a party of four hundred men, conſiſting of Spartans *newly-infranchiſed* and the moſt active exiles from Tegea. There was alſo another guard poſted at Leuctra in the Maleatis. The Thebans reckoned beſides, that the whole ſtrength of the Lacedæmonians would ſoon be drawn together, and would never fight better than on their own ground. All theſe things occurred to their reflection, and they ſhewed no eagerneſs to march againſt Lacedæmon. But when ſome perſons came from Caryæ, who confirmed the account of their deſolate ſtate, and even undertook to be the guides of their march, with a frank deſire "to be put to death if they "deceived them in any point;" and ſome people alſo of the *neighborhood* of Sparta arrived with an invitation for them to come on and a promiſe to revolt if they would only ſhew themſelves in the country; adding, that "ſome of thoſe people diſtinguiſhed "by the title of their *neighbors*, would not give the Spartans the "leaſt aſſiſtance;" hearing all this, and from all perſons too, the Thebans were at length perſuaded. They broke in with their

own army by way of Caryæ, and the Arcadians by the paſs of the Skiritis. But if Iſcholaus had poſted himſelf on their route in the moſt difficult part of the aſcent, they ſaid, not a ſingle perſon could have entered by that paſs. Yet, willing now to have the joint aid of the people of Ium, he had continued in that village. The Arcadians mounted the aſcent in very numerous bodies. And here the ſoldiers under Iſcholaus, ſo long as they had the enemy only in their front, had greatly the ſuperiority over them; but when they were gotten in their rear and on their flanks, and climbing up to the tops of houſes were galling and pouring their javelins upon them, then Iſcholaus himſelf and all his people were ſlain, except a perſon or two of no note who might poſſibly eſcape. And the Arcadians, having thus ſucceſsfully carried their point, marched on and joined the Thebans at Caryæ [6].

The

[6] The army now under Epaminondas conſiſted of not fewer than forty thouſand heavy-armed. The light-armed were alſo very numerous; and numbers without any arms at all were following for plunder; ſo that the number of enemies which now invaded Laconia was not leſs than ſeventy thouſand men. It was ſeven hundred years ſince the Dorians had ſettled in Lacedæmon; and during this long period of time no enemy had ever before been ſeen in Laconia, none had ever dared to invade the Spartans. Yet now an enemy was laying waſte with fire and ſword, and without any reſiſtance too, a country that never before had ſuffered devaſtation. Ageſilaus would not ſuffer the Lacedæmonians to expoſe themſelves againſt ſo impetuous a flood and torrent of war; but, having ſecured all the paſſes and eminences about Sparta with the heavy-armed, he heard with patience the threats and bravadoes of the enemy, who called out upon him by name, and bade him come out and fight for his country, ſince he was the author of all her diſtreſſes and had raiſed this war. Nor was his patience leſs ſeverely tried by the tumultuous, clamorous, and diſorderly behavior of the elder Spartans who were all rage and vexation, whilſt the women too could not contain, but were quite mad and frantic at the ſhouts and fires of the enemy. He was ſadly alarmed about his own reputation, ſince, though Sparta had never been ſo great and powerful as when he ſucceeded to the government; he now ſaw her glory in grievous diminution, and his own big ſpeeches proved inſolent and vain; for it had been his frequent boaſt, that

The Thebans, when they knew what had been done by the Arcadians, marched down into the country with much more ſpirit than before. They immediately put Sellaſia to fire and ſword; and, when they were gotten into the plains, encamped themſelves within the verge of the temple of Apollo: but next day they continued their march. They made no attempt however to paſs the bridge towards Sparta, for the heavy-armed were ſeen poſted in the temple at Alea; but keeping the Eurotas on their right, they continued their march, ſetting on fire and demoliſhing the houſes with all their grand and coſtly furniture. The women in Sparta had not ſpirits enough to look at the ſmoke, ſince never before had they ſeen an enemy. The citizens of Sparta, whoſe city had no wall round it, were ſtationed in different poſts. Their number at each guard was thin in fact, and appeared ſo too. But the magiſtrates thought proper to acquaint the Helots by proclamation, that "if any of them were willing to take up arms and go into "the ranks, the public faith was pledged, that all who aſſiſted "in this war ſhould henceforth be free." It was ſaid that more than ſix thouſand of them immediately gave in their names; ſo that, when formed into ranks, they ſtruck a terror, and ſeemed to be quite too many. But when the mercenaries from Orchomenus agreed to ſtay with them, and the Phliaſians and Corinthians and Epidaurians and Pellenians and the troops of ſome other

that "no woman at Sparta had ever ſeen "an enemy's ſmoke." It is ſaid too that Antalcidas, when once diſputing with an Athenian about the bravery of their countrymen, and the latter ſaying, "We "have often drove you from the Cephiſ-"ſus," replied briſkly, "But we never "drove you from the Eurotas." An anſwer of the ſame ſpirited kind is alſo aſcribed to a more obſcure Spartan as made to an Argive: "Many of your country-"men," ſaid the latter, "are interred in "Argolica;"—"True," cried the Spartan, "but not one of yours in Laconia." And yet ſome affirm that Antalcidas, though at this very time one of the Ephori, was under ſuch a conſternation, that he conveyed away his children to the iſland of Cythera. *Plutarch's Life of Ageſilaus.*

other cities were come up to the aid of the Lacedæmonians, they began to be leſs in fear about the number of Helots who gave in their names.

When the army of the enemy was advanced to Amyclæ, they there paſſed the Eurotas[7]. As for the Thebans, whenever they incamped, they immediately cut down the trees, and piled up as many of them as they could before their lines, and ſo kept upon their guard. But the Arcadians ſcorned all ſuch precautions: they left their arms, and minded nothing but breaking and plundering of houſes. The third or fourth day after, the horſe advanced in regular array to the Hippodrome and temple of Neptune, all the horſe of the Thebans and Eleans and ſo many of the Phocian and Theſſalian horſe as were at hand. The Lacedæmonian horſe, whoſe numbers appeared very thin indeed, were drawn up to oppoſe them. But as they had placed an ambuſcade of about three hundred men of their younger heavy-armed near the temple of the Tyndaridæ, theſe ſtarted up againſt and the horſe at the ſame moment of time rode down on the enemy. The enemy ſtood not the charge, but turned their backs: and many of their infantry too ſeeing this took immediately to flight. However, as the purſuit was ſoon diſcontinued and the Theban army ſtood firm to their ground, they all returned again to their camp. But after this they thought it would be too deſperate an undertaking to make any freſh attempts upon the city; the whole army therefore ſailed off towards Elis and Gytheum. They ſet all the unwalled cities in flames, and for three days ſucceſſively made an aſſault on Gytheum, where were the docks of the Lacedæmonians. There were ſome too of the *neighboring* people, who acted againſt them and joined the Thebans.

[7] Epaminondas, as he was marching at the head of his troops, was pointed out to Ageſilaus, who looking ſtedfaſtly at him for a time, and ſending his eyes after him as he paſſed on, drop'd only theſe words—"Oh! that glorious Man!"

The Athenians *debate about an aid.*

The Athenians, hearing all this, were highly embaraſſed about the conduct they ought to obſerve in regard to the Lacedæmonians, and purſuant to a decree of their *ſenate* held an aſſembly of the *people*. The embaſſadors of the Lacedæmonians and of the confederates who yet adhered to them were introduced into this aſſembly. The Lacedæmonians, Aracus and Ocyllus and Pharax and Etymocles and Olontheus, all ſpoke and pretty much in the ſame ſtrain, that "from time immemorial the States of Athens "and Lacedæmon had readily aſſiſted one another in their moſt "preſſing neceſſities. Themſelves (they ſaid) had co-operated "to drive the tyrants out of Athens; and the Athenians had "marched to their aſſiſtance, when they were beſieged by the "Meſſenians." They proceeded to recite all the ſignal ſervices they had done one another; putting them in mind, "how they "had fought in conjunction againſt the *Barbarian*;" recalling to their remembrance, that "the Athenians were choſen by the "body of Greece to command at ſea and to be *treaſurers* of "Greece, the Lacedæmonians adviſing it might be ſo; and "themſelves were unanimouſly appointed by all the Grecians to "be their leaders at land, the Athenians adviſing it might be ſo." One of them however made uſe of the following expreſſion: "If "you Athenians act unanimouſly with us, there will be hope "again, according to the old ſaying, of decimating the Thebans."

The Athenians did not entirely reliſh what they ſaid, ſince a murmur ran round the aſſembly, "This is their language at "preſent; yet, whilſt they were in proſperity, they proved bitter "enemies to us." But the argument of greateſt weight alledged by the Lacedæmonians was this, that "when they had warred "the Athenians down, and the Thebans inſiſted upon their utter "ruin, the Lacedæmonians had refuſed to comply:" though the point chiefly inſiſted upon was this, that "in conformity to their "oaths they ought to ſend them aid; they (Lacedæmonians) had

"been

" been guilty of no manner of injuſtice, when they were in-
" vaded by the Arcadians and their confederates; they had only
" aſſiſted the Tegeatæ, upon whom the Mantineans had made
" war in direct contrariety to their oaths." At theſe words a great clamour aroſe in the aſſembly. For ſome perſons averred, that " with juſtice the Mantineans had aſſiſted the party of Proxe-
" nus, ſome of whom had been put to death by the party of
" Staſippus;" whilſt others maintained, that " they had un-
" juſtly made war upon the Tegeatæ." Theſe points having raiſed a debate in the aſſembly, at laſt Cliteles the Corinthian roſe up, and ſpoke as followeth:

Speech of Cliteles.

" The point at preſent in debate, Athenians, is This, who
" were the firſt aggreſſors. Yet in regard to us, after the
" peace was ſettled, who can accuſe us of taking up arms againſt
" any State, or of taking any money from others, or of laying
" waſte the lands of any people whatever? But the Thebans it
" is certain have marched into our territories, have cut down our
" trees, have ſet our houſes in flames, and made plunder of our
" effects and our cattle. How therefore, unleſs you give aſſiſt-
" ance to us who have been beyond all denial moſt injuriouſly
" treated, how can you avoid a breach of oaths?" oaths too,
" which you yourſelves took the care of adminiſtring, that all
" of *us* might faithfully ſwear to all of *you*."

Here indeed the Athenians ſhouted aloud, that Cliteles ſpoke the words of truth and juſtice. And then Patrocles the Phliaſian roſe up, and made the following ſpeech:

Speech of Patrocles.

" When the Lacedæmonians are once out of their way, that
" you Athenians will be the firſt people the Thebans will at-
" tack, is a truth in which all the world will agree: ſince
" *you* they regard as the only people who will then be left to
" hinder them from obtaining the empire of Greece. And if
" this be ſo, I muſt give it as my opinion, that you are as ſtrongly

" obliged to take up arms and aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians, as if the
" diſtreſs was your own. That Thebans, your inveterate enemies
" and your neareſt neighbors too, ſhould become the ſovereigns
" of Greece, will in my judgment be a point of much harder
" digeſtion to you, than when you had your rivals for empire
" ſeated more remotely from you. And with a much finer
" proſpect of ſucceſs will you now aid the latter in your own
" behalf, whilſt yet they have ſome confederates left, than if
" looking on till they are quite deſtroyed, you are then compelled
" to fight it out alone againſt the Thebans.

" But if any be apprehenſive, that if the Lacedæmonians are
" now reſcued from deſtruction, they may hereafter prove very
" troubleſome to you; remember, Athenians, that none ought
" to be alarmed at the reviving power of men to whom you have
" done good, but of men to whom you have done evil. You
" ſhould farther recollect, that it ought to be the principal care
" both of individuals and public communities, when they are in
" their moſt flouriſhing ſtate, to ſecure themſelves a future ſup-
" port, that in caſe they are afterwards reduced, they may be ſure
" of a ready redreſs in requital for former ſervices. An oppor-
" tunity is now offered to you by ſome one of the celeſtial powers,
" if you will hearken to their requeſt and ſuccour the Lacedæ-
" monians, of gaining their eternal and ſincereſt friendſhip. You
" will do them a great kindneſs indeed, and numerous witneſſes
" will be ever ready to atteſt it. For the powers above, who
" ſee all things both now and for ever will know it; your friends
" and your foes will be equally conſcious of it; to which muſt
" be added, and all the Grecian, and all the Barbarian world.
" No act of yours on this occaſion can be loſt in oblivion; inſo-
" much that ſhould they ever prove ungrateful to you, what
" State in the world will for the future manifeſt any regard for
" them? But we are bound to hope, that gratitude and not in-

gratitude

" gratitude will always be the practice of the Lacedæmonians.
" For if ever people did, they may certainly be allowed to have
" perſiſted in the love of every thing praiſe-worthy and to have
" refrained from every thing that is baſe.

" Let me ſuggeſt one point more to your reflection, that ſhould
" Greece be ever again endangered by Barbarians, in whom could
" you confide more ſtrongly than in Lacedæmonians? whom
" could you ſee with ſo much delight in the ſame lines of battle
" with yourſelves, as the men who once poſted at Thermopylæ
" choſe rather to fight and die to a man, than to ſave their lives
" and let the Barbarian into Greece? With what juſtice therefore
" can you or can we refuſe to ſhew all alacrity in the behalf of
" men, who have acted ſuch noble parts in company with your-
" ſelves, and who it is hoped would be ready to act them again?
" But it is well worthy of you to ſhew alacrity in their behalf,
" though merely becauſe ſo many of your confederates are pre-
" ſent to be eye-witneſſes of it. For you may reſt aſſured, that
" all ſuch as remained faithful to the Lacedæmonians in their
" preſent diſtreſs, will hereafter ſcorn them ſhould they prove un-
" grateful to you.

" If again we, who are ready to ſhare the danger with you,
" ſhould ſeem but petty inconſiderable States, reflect, Athenians,
" that when Athens hath put itſelf at our head, we ſhall march
" to the aid of the Lacedæmonians in numbers well worthy to
" be reſpected.

" I have long ago, Athenians, been ſtricken with admiration
" of this your community, when I heard, that all men who
" ſuffered under injuſtice, or were afraid of ſuffering, betook
" themſelves to you for redreſs, and always obtained it. But
" now I rely no longer on my ears; I am here preſent among
" you, and ſee with my own eyes the moſt famous Lacedæmo-
" nians, accompanied by their own moſt faithful friends, attend-
" ing

" ing upon you and imploring your ſuccour. I ſee even The-
" bans too, who once in vain ſolicited the Lacedæmonians to
" enſlave you all, now promoting the requeſt, that you would
" not look quietly at the deſtruction of men who have been your
" preſervers. It is handed down in honour of your progenitors,
" that they would not ſuffer the dead bodies of the Argives, who
" periſhed at the Cadmea, to remain uninterred. But it would
" be much more honourable for you, if you would not ſuffer
" ſuch of the Lacedæmonians as are yet alive to be injurioufly
" treated or utterly deſtroyed. There is too another glorious
" piece of behavior, that when you had put a ſtop to the inſo-
" lence of Euryſtheus, you took all poſſible care to ſave the
" children of Hercules. But would it not be much more glo-
" rious, if you, who ſaved the founders, would proceed to ſave
" the whole community? And it would be moſt glorious of all,
" if as once theſe Lacedæmonians ſaved you by a vote that coſt
" them nothing, you would now with arms and through a ſeries
" of dangers go to their relief. The caſe will then be, that whilſt
" we are exulting for joy, we who have prevailed upon you by
" our exhortation to ſuccour ſuch worthy men, upon *you* I ſay
" who are able effectually to ſuccour them, the credit of ſuch
" high generoſity will be all your own, who, after having been
" oftentimes friends and oftentimes enemies to the Lacedæmo-
" nians, forgot all the miſchief, remembered only the good they
" had done you, and abundantly requited them, not merely in
" your own but in behalf of Greece your common country, in
" whoſe cauſe they have ever bravely diſtinguiſhed themſelves."

Aid granted. After this the Athenians went to conſultation, but would not hear with patience ſuch as ſpoke againſt the aid. They paſſed a decree " to march to their aid with the whole ſtrength of " Athens," and choſe Iphicrates to command. But when the ſacrifices were auſpicious, and he had iſſued out his orders, that

" they

" they ſhould all take their ſuppers in the *Academy*," it was ſaid that numbers of them marched out of the city before Iphicrates. At length he put himſelf at their head; they followed their commander, imagining he was conducting them to ſome noble atchievement. But when upon reaching Corinth he dallied away ſome days in that city, this gave them the firſt occaſion to cenſure him for loſs of time. Yet again, when he led them out of Corinth, they followed with alacrity whereſoever he led them, and with alacrity aſſaulted the fortreſs he pointed out to them. Of the enemies indeed at Lacedæmon the Arcadians and Argives and Eleans were moſtly departed, ſince they dwelled on the borders, driving before them and carrying off the booty they had taken. The Thebans and the reſt had alſo a mind to be going, as from day to day they ſaw the army was leſſening; partly, becauſe proviſions were grown more ſcarce, owing to the quantities that had been conſumed or ravaged or waſted or burnt. Beſide this, it was winter, ſo that all perſons were deſirous to be at home. And when the enemy were thus retreated from Lacedæmon, Iphicrates too led the Athenians back out of Arcadia to Corinth.

In regard to any inſtances of fine conduct during his other commands, I have nothing to object againſt Iphicrates. But on the preſent occaſion I find the whole of his conduct not only unavailing but even prejudicial. He endeavored to poſt himſelf ſo at Oneum, that the Bœotians might not be able to go that way back, but he left the fineſt paſs of all, that by Cenchreæ, unguarded. Being farther deſirous to know whether the Thebans took the route of Oneum, he ſent out all the Athenian and Corinthian horſe to obſerve their motions. A few horſemen might have performed this ſervice full as well as larger numbers; and in caſe they were obliged to retire, a few with much more eaſe than a larger number might have found out a commodious road and ſecurely retreated. But to carry out large numbers, and after all

Iphicrates *ſets out.*

inferior in number to the enemy, how can ſuch a conduct eſcape the imputation of folly? For this body of horſe, when drawn up in lines, were compelled by their very number to cover a large tract of ground; and, when obliged to retire, made their retreat through ſeveral and all of them difficult roads; inſomuch that not fewer than twenty of them were ſlain. And then, the Thebans had all the roads open to march home as they pleaſed [s].

[s] No ſooner were they returned to Thebes, than through the envy and malevolence of ſome of their own community an attempt was made upon the lives of the Commanders. A capital accuſation was preferred againſt them for having continued in the command four months longer than their legal appointment. Epaminondas perſuaded his collegues to exculpate themſelves by throwing all the blame upon him. His own plea was, that "if "what he had done could not juſtify it-"ſelf, all that he could ſay would ſtand "him in little ſted. He ſhould therefore "trouble his judges on this occaſion only "with this ſmall requeſt, that if he "muſt ſuffer death the ſentence to be "inſcribed on a pillar might be ſo drawn up, that the Grecians might know, "that Epaminondas had forced the The-"bans againſt their will to lay Laconia "waſte with fire and ſword, which for "five hundred years before had been free "from any devaſtation; that he had re-"ſtored the city of Meſſene two hundred "and thirty years after its demolition; "had united the Arcadians amongſt "themſelves and in firm friendſhip with "the Thebans; and had recovered the "liberty and independance of Greece, "ſince all theſe things were done in his "laſt expedition." His judges immediately quitted the bench with a laugh, nor would ſuffer any vote to be taken about him. *Plutarch's Apophthegms.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF The AFFAIRS OF GREECE

By XENOPHON.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

CONTENTS.

A league between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.—Continuation of the War.—Account of Lycomedes and the war in Arcadia. The victory gained by Archidamus.—The Theban negotiations in Persia.—History of the Phliasians.—Account of Euphron.—The Battle of Mantinea in which Epaminondas is slain.

THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BOOK VII.

NEXT year embaſſadors from the Lacedæmonians and confederates arrived at Athens, fully impowered to ſettle the conditions of an alliance offenſive and defenſive between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians. After many of the foreign miniſters and many of the Athenians too had given their opinions that the alliance ought to be made upon fair and equal terms, Patrocles the Phliaſian made the following ſpeech:

A league concluded at Athens.

Speech of Patrocles.

" Since, Athenians, you are come to a reſolution to make a " league with the Lacedæmonians, it is my opinion that one " point yet remaineth to be conſidered, by what method the " friendſhip between you may be rendered as laſting as poſſible. " If therefore we can ſettle the terms in ſuch a manner as may " be highly for the advantage of either party, then in all proba-

" bility we may moſt firmly continue Friends. Other points
" are already well nigh agreed on both ſides; what at preſent re-
" maineth to be conſidered is the point of *Command*. It hath
" already been reſolved by your *Senate*, that it ſhall be yours at
" ſea, and the Lacedæmonians ſhall have it by land. An adjuſt-
" ment this, which in my opinion is marked out for you by the
" conſtitution and determination both of earth and heaven. For,
" in the firſt place, your own ſituation is moſt finely adapted by
" nature to this very purpoſe. A very great number of States
" who want the ſea for their ſupport are ſeated round about your
" Athens, and all theſe States are weaker than your own. Be-
" ſide this you have harbours, without which it is not poſſible
" to exert a naval power. You are moreover poſſeſſed of a great
" number of triremes, and the enlargement of your navy hath
" been from every generation your principal ſtudy. Nay, what
" is more, the arts needful for theſe purpoſes are all your own,
" and you far excel the reſt of the world in naval ſkill. For
" moſt perſons in your community earn their livelihood at ſea;
" ſo that, whilſt employed in your own perſonal concerns, you
" grow experienced in all the important points which are to be
" decided on the ſea. Add to this, that ſuch numerous fleets
" have never ſailed out from any harbours as from your own;
" and hence accrues the ſtrongeſt reaſon why you ſhould have
" the command at ſea. For all men flock with the moſt prompt
" alacrity to what hath been evermore inveſted with ſtrength.
" And the Gods, it muſt be added, have granted you a high
" meaſure of ſucceſs in this reſpect. For in the very many and
" moſt important ſtruggles you have undergone at ſea, you have
" incurred the feweſt loſſes, you have in general been remark-
" ably ſucceſsful. It ſtandeth therefore to reaſon, that the con-
" federates with moſt prompt alacrity will take a ſhare in all
" your dangers.

" But

" But convince yourſelves from what I am going to ſay, how " indiſpenſably needful to you it is to take all poſſible care of the " ſea. The Lacedæmonians made war upon you formerly for " many years together, and though they became maſters of your " territory yet were nothing nearer their grand ſcheme of demo- " liſhing your power. But no ſooner had God given them a " victory over you at ſea, than inſtantly you became their vaſſals. " Hence therefore it is clear beyond a ſcruple, that your own " preſervation is entirely connected with the ſea. And if this is " the true ſtate of things, how can it be for your intereſt to " ſuffer the Lacedæmonians to have the command at ſea? In the " firſt place, they own themſelves that their ſkill on this element " is inferior to yours. In the next place, you do not encounter " dangers at ſea upon equal terms; ſince they hazard only the " men who ſerve on board their ſhips, but you your children and " your wives and your whole community. This is the ſtate of " the point on your ſide, but it is very different on that of the " Lacedæmonians. For, in the firſt place, they dwell within the " land; inſomuch that ſo long as they are maſters at land, though " they are hindered from putting out to ſea, they can live in " peace and affluence. Ever mindful therefore of this their ſitu- " ation, they train up their people from their infancy in that " diſcipline of war which is ſuitable to the land; and eſpecially, " which is worth all the reſt, in obedience to thoſe who com- " mand them. They truly are ſtrongeſt at land, and you are " the ſtrongeſt at ſea. And in the next place, as you are ſooneſt " out at ſea, ſo they draw out moſt expeditiouſly and in the " greateſt numbers at land: and likely it is for this very reaſon, " that the confederates with the greateſt confidence will ever join " them there. Nay, what is more, even God hath granted them " very ſignal ſucceſſes upon the land, in the ſame meaſure as he " hath granted them to you at ſea. For in the very many moſt

" important

" important ſtruggles they have undergone at land, they have
" received the feweſt defeats, and have in general been remark-
" ably ſucceſsful. And hence, that to take care at land is no
" leſs neceſſary to them than to you at ſea, you may readily
" learn from fact itſelf. For when for many years together you
" were at war with them, and oftentimes fought at ſea ſucceſſ-
" fully againſt them, yet you made no progreſs at all in warring
" them down. But no ſooner were they once defeated at land,
" than the loſs of their children and their wives and their whole
" community became inſtantly endangered. How therefore can
" it but be dreadful to them to ſuffer any other State to take com-
" mand by land over them who have moſt bravely atchieved the
" pre-eminence there!

" So much, in purſuance of the reſolution of the Senate, I
" have ſaid on this occaſion, and think I have adviſed the beſt
" for both. But may your determinations prove the beſt for all
" of us; and may ſucceſs attend all your undertakings!"

In this manner Patrocles ſpoke; and the Athenians in general and ſuch Lacedæmonians as were preſent heartily agreed in commending his advice. But Cephiſodotus ſtood up, and ſpoke as followeth:

Speech of Cephiſodotus.

" You perceive not, Athenians, how ſadly you are going to
" be over-reached; but if you will give me attention, I will im-
" mediately ſhew you. You yourſelves forſooth are to command
" at ſea. But it is clear, that if the Lacedæmonians act in
" confederacy with you, they will ſend you Lacedæmonian
" captains to command the veſſels, and perhaps Lacedæmonian
" marines, but the ſeamen of a truth will be only Helots or
" hirelings: and then over ſuch as theſe you will be inveſted
" with the command. But whenever the Lacedæmonians iſſue
" out their mandate for an expedition by land, you will for cer-
" tain ſend to them your own cavalry and your heavy-armed.

" And thus, beyond all diſpute, they become the rulers of your
" very ownſelves, whilſt you can be ſuch only over ſlaves and
" the very dregs of mankind. But (ſaid he) anſwer me one
" queſtion, you Timocrates of Lacedæmon. Did you not ſay
" juſt now, that you came hither to make an alliance upon fair
" and equal terms?" *I ſaid ſo.* " Can any thing therefore be
" more reaſonable (ſaid Cephiſodotus) than that each ſhould
" command alternately at ſea, alternately too at land; and if
" there be any pre-eminent advantage at ſea, that *you* ſhould
" come in for your ſhare of it; and *we* the ſame by land?"

The Athenians, upon hearing this, quite changed their ſentiments, and drew up a *decree*, that " each ſide ſhould command " alternately for the ſpace of five days."

Year before Chriſt, 363. *Continuation of the war.*

Both parties with their confederates now taking the field for Corinth, it was reſolved to guard Oneum in conjunction. And when the Thebans and confederates [1] approached, the different parties of the enemy drew up on their ſeveral guards, the Lacedæmonians and Pellenians being poſted in that quarter which was moſt likely to be attacked. But the Thebans and confederates, after advancing within * thirty *ſtadia* of the guard, encamped in the plain. Having then allowed a proper interval of time, which they thought they ſhould ſpend in compleatly marching up, they advanced at twilight towards the guard of the Lacedæmonians. And they were not deceived in their allowance of time, but ruſh in upon the Lacedæmonians and Pellenians, when the nightly watch was already diſmiſſed, and the others were riſing up from the ſtraw where they had taken their repoſe. At this very time the Thebans fall in amongſt them, prepared for action againſt men unprepared, and in regular order againſt men in total diſorder. But when ſuch as could ſave themſelves from the danger had fled to the neareſt eminence, and the commander

* *About three miles.*

[1] Under the command of Epaminondas.

of

of the Lacedæmonians had it ſtill in his power to take to his aid as many heavy-armed and as many targeteers from the confederates as he pleaſed, and keep poſſeſſion of Oneum (ſince all neceſſary proviſions might have been ſafely brought them from Cenchrea), he did it not; but, on the contrary, when the Thebans were in great perplexity how to get down by the paſs towards Sicyon, or about returning the ſame way they came, he clapped up a truce (as moſt people thought) more for the advantage of the Thebans than of his own party, and in purſuance of it retreated, and marched off his troops. In conſequence of this, the Thebans having marched down in ſafety, and joined their own confederates the Arcadians and Argives and Eleans, carried on their aſſaults without loſs of time againſt Sicyon and Pellene. They marched alſo againſt Epidaurus, and laid waſte all their territory. And retreating from thence in a manner that ſhewed the utmoſt contempt of all their enemies, when they came near the city of Corinth, they ran full ſpeed towards the gates that look towards Phlius, with a deſign if they were open to ruſh in at once. But a party of light-armed ſallied out of the city, and met the *choſen* party of the Thebans at the diſtance not of four *plethra* from the wall. Theſe mounted immediately on the monuments and eminences that were near, and pouring in their darts and javelins kill a great many of this foremoſt body, and having put them to flight purſued them three or four *ſtadia*. And when this was done, the Corinthians, having dragged the bodies of the ſlain to the wall, and reſtored them afterwards by truce, erected a trophy. And by this turn of fortune the confederates of the Lacedæmonians were reſtored to better ſpirits.

An aid ſent by Dionyſius.

Theſe incidents had ſcarcely taken place, when the aid to the Lacedæmonians from Dionyſius arrived, conſiſting of more than twenty triremes. They brought Celtæ and Iberians and about fifty horſemen. But next day the Thebans and confederates, having

having formed into order of battle, and filled all the plain quite down to the ſea and quite up to the eminences which are near the city, deſtroyed every thing in the plain that could be of uſe to the enemy. The horſe of the Athenians and Corinthians never advanced within any nearneſs of the enemy, perceiving how very ſtrong and numerous they were. But the horſemen of Dionyſius, however inconſiderable in their number, ſtraggled from one another and were ſcouring all over the plain; now riding up, they threw their javelins at the enemy; and ſo ſoon as the enemy ruſhed forwards they again rode off; and preſently, wheeling about, they kept pouring in their javelins; and in the midſt of theſe feats diſmounted from their horſes and reſted. But in caſe any of the enemy rode at them whilſt thus diſmounted, they were again in their ſeats with great agility and rode off ſafe. Nay, if purſued to any conſiderable diſtance from the army, no ſooner were the purſuers on retreat, than cloſe behind them and plying at them with their javelins, they made havoc, and merely of themſelves obliged the whole army of the enemy alternately to advance and retire. And after this the Thebans making only a few days ſtay went off for Thebes, and the reſt of the confederates diſperſed to their ſeveral homes.

But the aid from Dionyſius march afterwards againſt Sicyon, and beat the Sicyonians in a battle on the plain, and ſlew about ſeventy of them. They alſo take by ſtorm the fort of Dera. But after theſe exploits, this firſt aid from Dionyſius ſailed away for Syracuſe.

Lycomedes's behavior in Arcadia.

Hitherto the Thebans, and all ſuch as had revolted from the Lacedæmonians, had acted and taken the field together with perfect unanimity, the Thebans being in the command. But now one Lycomedes of Mantinea, a man in birth inferior to none, but ſuperior in wealth and of extraordinary ambition, began to interfere. This man quite filled the Arcadians with notions of

their own importance; telling them, "Peloponnesus was a coun-
"try exclusively their own" (for they alone were the original inhabitants of it), "the Arcadians were the most numerous people
"in all Greece, and had their persons most remarkably qualified
"for action." He then shewed them to be the most valiant people in Greece; producing in proof, that "when other States
"had need of auxiliaries, they evermore gave preference to the
"Arcadians;" that moreover, "without them the Lacedæmo-
"nians had never dared to invade the Athenians, and now with-
"out the Arcadians the Thebans durst not take the field against
"Lacedæmon. If therefore you can see your own interest, you
"will discontinue the custom of following whenever another
"State may call for your attendance; since formerly, by thus
"following the Lacedæmonians, you augmented their power;
"and now, if rashly you follow the Thebans, and do not insist
"upon your turn in the command, you may perhaps find them
"in a little time to be second Lacedæmonians."

The Arcadians by listening to these discourses were highly puffed up, quite doated on Lycomedes, and thought him the only man, insomuch that they chose such persons to be their magistrates, as he was pleased to point out to them. Many things had also coincided to give the Arcadians high notions of themselves. For when the Argives had invaded Epidaurus, and their retreat was cut off by the Athenians and Corinthians under Chabrias, they went to their aid when almost reduced to a surrender, and set the Argives at liberty, though they had not only the disadvantage of numbers but even of situations to struggle against. Taking the field another time against Asine in Laconia, they beat the Lacedæmonian garrison, they slew Geranor the *Spartan* who commanded, and plundered the suburbs of Asine. Nay, whenever they had resolved to act, neither night, nor winter, nor any length of march, nor mountains difficult of passage could

stop

ſtop them; inſomuch that at the preſent juncture of time they eſteemed themſelves as the braveſt of men. For theſe reaſons truly the Thebans beheld them with envy, and could no longer manifeſt goodwill to the Arcadians. The Eleans alſo, when on re-demanding from the Arcadians thoſe cities which had been taken from them by the Lacedæmonians, they found that the Arcadians wholly ſlighted every thing they alledged, and even manifeſted high regard to the Tryphyllians and other people who had revolted from them, on the haughty pretext that they too were Arcadians,——for theſe reaſons the Eleans alſo were bitterly incenſed againſt them.

Whilſt the States of the confederacy were thus ſeverally ſetting up for themſelves, Philiſcus of Abydus arriveth from Ariobarzanes, furniſhed with a large ſum of money. In the firſt place therefore, he cauſed the Thebans and confederates and the Lacedæmonians to meet together at Delphi to treat about a peace. But when aſſembled there, they never requeſted the advice of the God in relation to the peace, but made it a ſubject merely for their own conſultations. And when the Thebans poſitively refuſed to leave Meſſene in the power of the Lacedæmonians, Philiſcus drew together a large body of mercenaries to ſerve as aids on the ſide of the Lacedæmonians. And whilſt theſe things were doing the ſecond aid arriveth from Dionyſius. The Athenians alledge "theſe ought to be ſent into Theſſaly to make head againſt the "Thebans;" the Lacedæmonians are "for landing them in "Laconia;" and the latter opinion carried it with the allies. When therefore the aid from Dionyſius had ſailed round to Lacedæmon, Archidamus taking them under his command marched out with the domeſtic troops of that State. He took Caryæ by ſtorm, and put all the perſons he found in it to the ſword. From thence without loſs of time he led them on againſt Parrhaſia of Arcadia, and laid waſte the country. But ſo ſoon as the Arca-

Year before Chriſt, 367. *A ſecond aid from* Dionyſius.

dians and Argives were come out into the field, he retreated and encamped on the high ground of Midea. Whilſt he was in this poſt, Ciſſidas who commanded the aid from Dionyſius notified to him, that "the time limited for his ſtay in Greece is expired;" and he had no ſooner notified this, than he marched off for Sparta. But when the Meſſenians had ſtopped him on his route by beſetting the narrow paſſes, he ſent back to Archidamus, and begged his aſſiſtance; and Archidamus immediately began his march. When they were gotten as far as the turning in the road that leadeth to Euctreſii, the Arcadians and Argives were advancing into Laconia to ſtop his proceeding farther on the road to Sparta. Archidamus now turneth aſide into the plain near the ſpot where the roads to Euctreſii and Midea meet, and formeth into order of battle, as reſolved on an engagement. It is ſaid that he went up to the front of the army, and animated the men by the following exhortation:

Speech of Archidamus.

"Countrymen and ſoldiers! let us now be brave, and look "our enemies directly in the face. Let us bequeath our country "to our poſterity as we received it from our fathers. From "this moment let us ceaſe to make our children and our wives "and our elders and our foreign friends aſhamed of the behavior "of men, who in former days were the admiration of Greece."

He gains a victory diſtinguiſhed by the title of Tearleſs.

Theſe words were no ſooner uttered, than (according to report) though the ſky was clear it lightened and thundered, thoſe omens of ſucceſs. There happened alſo to be on his right wing a grove and an image conſecrated to Hercules, from whom Archidamus is ſaid to be deſcended. The concurrence of ſuch auſpicious ſigns inſpired, as they ſay, ſuch vigor and ſpirit into his ſoldiers, that it was difficult for the commanders to reſtrain them from ruſhing forwards towards the enemy. And indeed no ſooner did Archidamus lead them to the charge, than thoſe few of the enemy who had the courage to ſtand it were immediately ſlain; the reſt

were

were all in flight, and were ſlaughtered, many by the horſe, and many by the Celtæ. When the battle was over and the trophy erected, Archidamus immediately diſpatched Demoteles the herald to Sparta, to notify there the greatneſs of the victory, ſince not one Lacedæmonian was ſlain, but a very great number indeed of the enemy. It is reported, that the news was no ſooner heard at Sparta, than Ageſilaus and the elders and the Ephori began ſetting the example, and at length the whole community wept [2]; thus common are tears both to ſorrow and joy. Not but that the Thebans and the Eleans were as much rejoiced as the Lacedæmonians themſelves at this blow given to the Arcadians; ſo highly did they reſent their late aſſuming behavior.

Peloponneſian affairs.

As the point at which the Thebans were aiming was how to attain the ſovereignty of Greece, they now thought, that ſhould they ſend to the King of Perſia, by his aſſiſtance they might accompliſh their ſcheme. With this view they ſummoned their confederates to a meeting; and, on the pretext that Euthycles

[2] *Plutarch* in the *Life of* Ageſilaus gives a fuller account of the rejoicing at Sparta on this occaſion, which he introduces with ſo pertinent but ſhrewd an obſervation that the whole paſſage well deſerves a notice: —— "Nothing (ſays he) ſo "much betrayed the weakneſs of the "Spartan State as this Victory. Ever "before this time they had looked upon "themſelves as ſo intitled by preſcription "and by right to conquer in battle, that "for the greateſt victories they ſacrificed "nothing but a cock, the combatants "never uttered any words of exultation, "and the news of them inſpired no hearer "with any extraordinary joy. Even after "the battle of Mantinea, which Thucy-"dides hath deſcribed, the Magiſtrates "ſent a piece of fleſh from their own table "as a reward to the perſon who brought "them the news, and made him no other "preſent. But after this victory was publiſhed and Archidamus in his return "drew near to Sparta, not a ſoul but "was quite tranſported; his Father Age-"ſilaus cried for joy and went out to "meet him, attended with the whole "magiſtracy. The elders of the city and "the women flocked down to the river "Eurotas, lifting up their hands to hea-"ven and giving thanks to the Gods, as "if Sparta now had cleared her reputa-"tion from all the late diſgraces, and as "bright a proſpect as ever was opened "before her."

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Peloplidas ſent to the King of Perſia.

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the Lacedæmonian was then with the King, Pelopidas is ſent up by the Thebans; Antiochus the *Pancratiaſt* by the Arcadians; Archidamus by the Eleans; and an Argive embaſſador went alſo in their company. The Athenians hearing this ſent Timagoras and Leo to ſolicit againſt them. When they were all arrived, Pelopidas had ſoon gained the greateſt intereſt in the Perſian Monarch. He could juſtly plead, that "of all the Grecians the Thebans "alone had joined the royal army at Platæa, and ever ſince that "time had never joined in any war againſt the King;" and that "the Lacedæmonians had made war upon them for this reaſon "only, becauſe they had refuſed to act againſt him under the "command of Ageſilaus, nor would permit the latter to ſacrifice "at Aulis, where Agamemnon had formerly ſacrificed, and "thence beginning his expedition into Aſia had taken Troy." Other circumſtances alſo concurred to procure Pelopidas more honourable treatment, ſuch as that the Thebans had been victorious in the battle of Leuctra; and farther, quite maſters of the country, had laid waſte the dominions of the Lacedæmonians. Pelopidas moreover inſinuated, that "the Argives and Arcadians "had been defeated in battle by the Lacedæmonians, merely "becauſe the Thebans were not there." Timagoras the Athenian bore witneſs to him, and vouched the truth of whatever Pelopidas ſaid; he therefore was honoured by the King in the next degree to Pelopidas. At length, Pelopidas was aſked by the King, "What he would have him inſiſt upon in his Letter?" He anſwered, that "Meſſene ſhould be left free and independent "by the Lacedæmonians, and the Athenians ſhould lay up their "fleet. And in caſe they refuſed to comply, war ſhould be "declared againſt them. And if any State refuſed to join in "the war, that State ſhould be firſt invaded." Theſe points being committed to writing, and then read aloud to the embaſſadors, Leo cried out in the hearing of the King, "In good truth,

Timagoras acts with him.

"Athe-

" Athenians, it is high time for you to look out another friend " inſted of the King." And when the ſecretary had interpreted what the Athenian ſaid, the King ordered this qualifying article to be added;—— " But in caſe the Athenians are able to deviſe " more effectual expedients, let them repair hither and commu- " nicate them to the King." No ſooner were theſe embaſſadors returned to their ſeveral homes than the Athenians put Timagoras to death; ſince Leo preferred an accuſation againſt him, " for " refuſing to lodge in the ſame apartment with him, and for " bearing a ſhare in all the ſchemes of Pelopidas." As to the reſt of the embaſſadors, Archidamus the Elean highly applauded the King's declaration, becauſe he had given a preference to the Eleans over the Arcadians. But Antiochus, becauſe the Arcadic body was ſlighted by him, refuſed his preſents, and told the magiſtrates of Arcadia at his return, that " the King, it is true, " was maſter over an infinite number of bakers and cooks and " butlers and door-keepers, but though he had looked about with " his utmoſt diligence to diſcover the men, who were able to " fight with Grecians, he had not been able to get the ſight of " any." He added, that " in his opinion his vaſt quantity of " wealth was mere empty pageantry; ſince the very plane-tree " of gold, ſo much celebrated by fame, was not large enough " to afford ſhade to a graſhopper." But when the Thebans had ſummoned deputations from all the States to come and hear the King's epiſtle; and the Perſian, who brought it, after ſhew- ing the royal ſignet, had read aloud the contents; the Thebans commanded all, " who were deſirous of the King's friendſhip " and of theirs, to ſwear obſervance;" but the Deputies from the States replied, that " their commiſſion was not to ſwear but to " hear. And if oaths were neceſſary, they bade the Thebans " ſend round to the ſeveral States." Lycomedes the Arcadian added farther, that " this congreſs ought not to have been holden

And put to death at Athens for it.

" in

" in Thebes, but in the ſeat of the war." The Thebans however reſenting this, and telling him " he was deſtroying the " confederacy," Lycomedes would no longer aſſiſt at any conſultation, but inſtantly quitted Thebes, and went home accompanied by all the deputies from Arcadia. Yet as thoſe remaining at Thebes refuſed to take the oaths, the Thebans ſent embaſſadors round to the ſeveral States, commanding them " to ſwear to the " obſervance of what had been written by the King;" concluding that each State, thus ſingly to be ſworn, would be afraid of incurring the reſentments of themſelves and the King by a refuſal. However, the firſt place to which they repaired was Corinth. And the Corinthians ſtanding out, and remonſtrating that " they wanted no ſwearing to treaties with the King," many other States followed their example, and anſwered to the ſame effect. And thus the grand ſcheme of empire ſo long agitated by Pelopidas and the Thebans was totally diſconcerted.

Year before Chriſt, 366. Epaminondas *takes the field.*

But now Epaminondas, being deſirous to begin again with the reduction of the Achæans, in order to render the Arcadians and the reſt of the confederates more attentive to the friendſhip of the Thebans, determined to make war upon Achaia. He therefore perſuadeth Peiſias the Argive, who commanded in Argos, immediately to ſeize Oneum. Peiſias accordingly, having made a diſcovery that the guard of Oneum was neglected by Naucles, who commanded the mercenary troops of the Lacedæmonians, and by Timomachus the Athenian, ſeizeth by night with two thouſand heavy-armed the eminence above Cenchrea, having with him proviſions for ſeven days. During this interval the Thebans begin their march and compleat the paſſage of Oneum; and then the confederates in one body invade Achaia under the command of Epaminondas. And as ſuch of the Achæans, as were of the party of the *few*, went over to him, Epaminondas exerteth his influence with ſo much weight, that afterwards none of that party were

ſentenced to exile, nor any change made in the polity of the State, but only ſecurity was given by the Achæans, that they would be firm allies, and follow the Thebans whereſoever they led them; and ſo the latter returned again to Thebes.

Some are diſguſted at his conduct.

The Arcadians and all diſcontented parties now accuſing Epaminondas for marching off ſo ſoon as he had put Achaia in a proper diſpoſition to ſerve the Lacedæmonians, it was judged expedient by the Thebans, to ſend away governors into the cities of Achaia. Theſe on their arrival, by the help of the *popular* party, drove out into exile the party of the *few*, and ſet up a democracy in Achaia. The perſons thus exiled, concurring together in the ſame meaſures, and being not few in number, returned to their ſeveral cities, and recovered the poſſeſſion of them. And now, as they no longer obſerved any manage in their conduct, but with high alacrity ſupported the Lacedæmonian cauſe, the Arcadians were grievouſly harraſſed on one ſide by the Lacedæmonians and on the other by the Achæans.

Euphron's *behavior at* Sicyon.

At Sicyon down to this time the adminiſtration had been carried on, according to the laws of the Achæans. But Euphron, ambitious to play a leading part amongſt the enemies of the Lacedæmonians, though hitherto he had been regarded by the latter as their moſt ſteady friend, inſinuateth to the Argives and Arcadians, that "were the moſt wealthy members of the community to be indiſputably maſters of Sicyon, then beyond all "doubt on every occaſion that city would act entirely in the "Lacedæmonian intereſt; whereas if a democracy be ſet up in "it, you may depend upon it (ſaid he) that city will firmly adhere to you. If therefore you will give me your aid, I will "engage to convene the *people*; and at the ſame time I will give "them this certain pledge of my own ſincerity, and will keep "the city firm in your alliance. My motives for acting be you "well aſſured are the ſame with your own, ſince I have long ſuf-

" with regret the inſolence of the Lacedæmonians, and would " with the higheſt pleaſure eſcape from their bondage." The Arcadians and Argives therefore, who liſtened greedily to him, repaired to Sicyon to ſupport him. On their arrival he immediately convened the people in the forum, and propoſed a form of adminiſtration wherein each might have a fair and equal ſhare. And in this very aſſembly, he ordered them to chuſe what perſons they pleaſed to be their commanders. The people accordingly chuſe Euphron himſelf and Hippodamus and Cleander and Acriſius and Lyſander. When theſe points were ſettled, he appointeth his own ſon Adeas to command the mercenary troops, having diſcharged Lyſimenus who commanded them before. Euphron by his generoſity had ſoon attached many of the mercenaries firmly to his intereſt; he quickly made many more of them his friends, ſparing neither the public money nor the treaſure in the temples in buying their ſervice. And he employed to the ſame uſe the wealth of ſuch perſons as he drove into exile for being friends to the Lacedæmonians. Some alſo of his collegues in command he ſlew by treachery, and ſome he baniſhed; inſomuch that he grew to be abſolute maſter of Sicyon, and paſt all doubt became a tyrant. And he cauſed the confederates to connive at all his proceedings, ſometimes by ſupplying them with money, and at other times by taking the field with his mercenaries whenever they ſummoned him to join them.

The fine exploits of the Phliaſians.

Affairs having ſo far ſucceeded, and the Argives having fortified Tricranum ſituated above the temple of Juno in Phlius, and the Sicyonians at the ſame time fortifying Thyamia on the frontier of the Phliaſians, the latter were grievouſly diſtreſſed and reduced to the want of neceſſaries; yet, notwithſtanding this, they perſevered in a moſt ſtedfaſt adherence to their allies. When any grand point is accompliſhed by powerful States, all hiſtorians are careful to propagate the remembrance of it. But in my opinion, if

if any petty State can accompliſh a ſeries of numerous and great atchievements, ſuch a State hath a much better title to have them honorably remembered.

The Phliaſians, for inſtance, became friends to the Lacedæmonians, when the latter were poſſeſſed of the moſt ample power. And yet, after their overthrow at the battle of Leuctra, after the revolt of many *neighboring* cities, and after the revolt of many of their Helots, and of their old allies, very few excepted, all Greece in a word, being combined againſt them; the Phliaſians perſevered in the moſt faithful attachment to them; nay, when even the Argives and Arcadians the moſt powerful States in Peloponneſus were become their enemies, notwithſtanding all this the Phliaſians gave them aid, even though it fell to their lot to be the very laſt body of men of the whole confederacy, that could march up to Praſiæ to join them. The Corinthians, Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Hermionians, Halienſians, Sicyonians, and Pellenians, for theſe had not revolted, were at Praſiæ before them. Nay, when even the Spartan General, who was ſent to command, would not wait for their arrival, but marched off with thoſe who were already come up, the Phliaſians notwithſtanding ſcorned to turn back, but hiring a guide at Praſiæ, though the enemy was now at Amyclæ, came forwards as well as they could, and arrived at Sparta. The Lacedæmonians, it is true, gave them all poſſible marks of their gratitude, and by way of hoſpitality preſented them with an ox.

When again, after the enemy's retreat from Lacedæmon, the Argives, exaſperated againſt the Phliaſians for their zealous attachment to the Lacedæmonians, invaded Phlius with their whole united force, and laid all that country waſte, they would in no wiſe ſubmit. And after the enemy had compleated their ravage and were again on their retreat, the horſemen of Phlius ſallied out in good order, and preſſed cloſe on their rear; and, though

the whole Argive cavalry and ſome companies of heavy-armed compoſed this rear, though but ſixty in number they fell upon them, and put the whole rear to flight. They ſlew ſome few of them, and even erected a trophy in the very ſight of the enemy, nor could they have done more, though they had killed them to a man.

Again. When the Lacedæmonians and confederates were poſted on the guard of Oneum, and the Thebans were approaching with a deſign to force the paſſage, the Eleans and Argives marching in the mean time by the road of Nemea in order to join the Thebans, ſome exiles from Phlius inſinuated to the latter, that "if "they would only ſhew themſelves before Phlius, they might "take it." When they had reſolved on a trial, theſe exiles with ſome auxiliaries, amounting in all to about ſix hundred, poſted themſelves by night under the wall of Phlius, having with them a number of ladders. When therefore the centinels had given the ſignals that the enemy were marching down from Tricranum, and all the inhabitants of the city were thrown into alarm, that very inſtant the traitors gave the ſignal to thoſe ſculking under the wall to mount. Accordingly they mounted; and firſt ſeizing at the ſtand the arms of the guard, they purſued the centinels who were left to watch them being ten in number: from every five one perſon was left to watch the arms. But one of theſe they murdered before he could wake out of ſleep, and another as he was flying for ſhelter to the temple of Juno. As the centinels had leaped from the walls down into the city to flee from the enemy, the latter were now maſters of the citadel, and the former ſaw it plainly with their own eyes. But when they ſhouted for aid, and all the inhabitants came running to aſſiſt them, the enemy ſallied immediately from the citadel, and engaged them before the gate that openeth into the city. Yet being afterwards ſurrounded by numbers of ſuch as had flocked together.

together to aſſiſt, they again retired into the citadel, and the heavy-armed ruſh in at the ſame time with them. The area of the citadel was immediately cleared of the enemy, who mounting the wall and the turrets, threw down darts and javelins upon the Phliaſians below. They defended themſelves, and fought their way to the ſtairs that lead up to the wall. And when the inhabitants had poſſeſſed themſelves of the turrets on either ſide of the enemy, they then advanced with the utmoſt fury cloſe up to them, who unable to withſtand ſuch a bold and deſperate attack were all driven together on an heap. At this very inſtant of time the Arcadians and Argives inveſted the city, and were directly opening a breach in the wall of the citadel. The Phliaſians within it were levelling their blows faſt; ſome of them, at the enemy on the wall; ſome, at the enemy on the ladders endeavoring to mount; ſome alſo were fighting againſt thoſe who had ſcaled and were gotten upon the turrets; and, finding fire in the barracks, they ſet the turrets in a flame by the help of faggots, which had juſt happened to be cut down in the citadel itſelf. And now, ſuch as were upon the turrets jumped off immediately for fear of the flames; and ſuch as were upon the walls were forced by the blows of their antagoniſts to leap over. And when once they began to give way, the whole citadel was ſoon cleared of the enemy, and the horſemen of Phlius rode out of the city. The enemy retreated at the ſight of them, leaving behind their ladders and their dead, nay the living too who had been lamed in the ſcuffle. The number of the ſlain, both of ſuch as had fought within and ſuch as had leaped down from the wall, was not leſs than eighty. And now you might have ſeen the men of Phlius ſhaking one another by the hand in mutual congratulation, the women bringing them refreſhments of liquor, and at the ſame time weeping for joy. Nay, there was not a ſoul preſent on this occaſion, whoſe countenance did not ſhew the tearful ſmile.

Next

Next year the Argives and Arcadians with their whole united force again invaded Phliaſia. The reaſons of this continued enmity againſt the Phliaſians were, becauſe they were very angry at them, and becauſe they were ſituated between them, and they never ceaſed hoping that by reducing them to famine they might ſtarve them into obedience. But in this invaſion alſo the horſemen and choſen band of Phliaſians, with the aid of Athenian horſe, were at hand to attack the enemy as they are paſſing the river. Having the better in the action, they forced the enemy to retire for the reſt of the day under the craggy parts of a mountain, ſince they avoided the plain, leſt by trampling over it they might damage the corn of their friends.

Again. Upon another occaſion the commandant at Sicyon marched an army againſt Phlius. He had with him the Thebans and his own garriſon, the Sicyonians, and the Pellenians (for theſe now had accuſtomed themſelves to follow the orders of the Thebans). Euphron alſo accompanied this expedition, having with him about two thouſand mercenaries. The reſt of the army marched down by way of Tricranum to the temple of Juno, with a deſign to lay waſte the plain. But the commandant left the Sicyonians and Pellenians behind near the gates that open towards Corinth, that the Phliaſians might not be able to fetch a compaſs round the eminence and get above them whilſt they were at the temple of Juno. When the Phliaſians in the city were aſſured that the enemy were ruſhing down into the plain, their horſemen and their choſen band marched out in order of battle againſt them, and charged them, and effectually prevented their deſcent into the plain. Here they ſpent the greateſt part of the day in throwing their darts and javelins at one another; the mercenaries of Euphron purſuing ſo far as the ground was not good for horſe, and the Phliaſians of the city driving them back to the temple of Juno. But when they judged it the proper time, the

enemy

enemy retreated by the pafs round about Trieranum, fince the ditch before the wall hindered their marching the fhorteft road to the Pellenians. The Phliafians, after following clofe behind them till they came to the afcents, turned off and made full fpeed clofe under the wall towards the Pellenians and the troops with them. The enemy under the command of the Theban General, perceiving what a hurry the Phliafians were in, made all poffible haſte to reach the Pellenians with timely aid. But the horſemen of Philus were too ſpeedy for them, and had already attacked the Pellenians. The latter ſtanding firm, the Phliafians again retreated backwards till they had ſtrengthened themſelves by ſuch of their foot as were now come up, and then renewed the attack, and cloſely engaged them. Now the enemy give way, and ſome of the Sicyonians are ſlain, as alſo were very many and thoſe the flower too of the Pellenians. Theſe things being done, the Phliafians erected a ſplendid trophy and ſung the pean of victory, as they juſtly might; whilſt their enemies under the Theban General and Euphron looked calmly at them, as if they came hither only to ſee a fight. And when the rejoicings were over, the latter marched off to Sicyon, and the Phliafians returned into their own city.

There is alſo another gallant action which the Phliafians performed. For having taken a Pellenian priſoner who had formerly been their public hoſt, they gave him his liberty without aſking any ranſom, though they were then in want of the neceſſaries of life.

To theſe, who did ſuch things, what perſon can deny the praiſe of being generous and gallant men? It is plain to all the world, how ſteadily they perſevered to the laſt in fidelity to their friends, though deprived of all the produce of their own lands, though ſubſiſting merely on what they could plunder from the lands of their enemies or purchaſe from Corinth, when even to

that

that market they could not go but through a ſeries of dangers, with difficulty procuring money for the purpoſe, with difficulty finding any to advance it for them, and hardly able to find ſecurity for the loan of beaſts to carry their proviſions home. At length reduced to total diſtreſs, they prevailed upon Chares to undertake the guard of a convoy for them. And when this guard was arrived at Phlius, they perſuaded Chares to take all their uſeleſs mouths along with him as far as Pellene, and there he left them. In the next place, having purchaſed their proviſions, and laden as many beaſts as they could poſſibly procure, they began their march by night, not ignorant that the enemy had laid an ambuſh on their road, but determined within themſelves that it was more eligible to fight than to want neceſſary food. Accordingly they ſet out on their return in company with Chares, and were no ſooner gotten in with the enemy than they fell to work with them, and loudly exhorting one another fought with the utmoſt vigor, ſhouting aloud on Chares to give them aid. Victorious at length and having cleared the road of their enemies, they returned ſafe with their whole convoy to Phlius. But as they had paſſed the night without a wink of ſleep, they ſlept in the morning till the day was far advanced. And yet Chares was no ſooner up than the horſemen and moſt active citizens of Phlius went to him, and accoſted him thus:

Speech of the Phliaſians to Chares.

" It is in your power, Chares, to perform this very day a moſt
" noble exploit. The Sicyonians are this moment buſy in forti-
" fying a poſt on our frontier. They have aſſembled a large
" number of mechanics for the purpoſe, and yet but a ſmall
" number of heavy-armed. We ourſelves with our horſemen
" and the moſt gallant men of our city will march out firſt;
" and if you at the head of your mercenaries will follow after
" us, perhaps you may find the buſineſs compleated on your ar-
" rival; or perhaps, by barely ſhewing yourſelf, you will put

" them

" them all to flight as you did at Pellene. Yet in caſe you judge
" the propoſal we make to be attended with difficulties, go and
" conſult the Gods by ſacrifice. For we are fully perſuaded,
" that the Gods will more forcibly than we can, exhort you to
" compliance. But, Chares, of this you ought to be aſſured,
" that if you ſucceed in this undertaking, you will have gained
" an high aſcendant over the foe, you will have indiſputably
" preſerved a friendly city, you will become an Athenian of the
" higheſt eſteem among your own countrymen, and a man of the
" higheſt reputation both with friends and foes."

Chares ſo far hearkened to what they ſaid as to ſet about the ſacrifice. But the Phliaſian horſemen immediately put on their breaſtplates and bridled their horſes; the heavy-armed too prepared to begin the march. And when taking up their arms they were repairing to the place of ſacrifice, Chares and the foothfayer advanced to meet them, and declared that " the victims por-
" tended ſucceſs. Halt a little (they added) and we march
" out in company with you." Their herald called to arms without loſs of time; and the mercenaries ran into their ranks with an alacrity that ſeemed inſpired by heaven. Chares no ſooner began his march than the Phliaſian horſemen and heavy-armed advanced and led the van. They moved off briſkly at firſt, and then ſet up a trot; the horſemen were at length on the gallop; the heavy-armed ran after as faſt as they could without breaking their ranks; and Chares followed the heavy armed with all his ſpeed. It was now near ſun-ſet. When arrived therefore at the fortification, they found the enemy, ſome of them employed in bathing, ſome dreſſing their meat, ſome kneading their bread, and ſome preparing their beds; who no ſooner ſaw the impetuoſity with which their enemy came on than they took fright and fled, leaving all their victuals behind for the uſe of theſe gallant men. The latter accordingly made a hearty ſupper

upon what was thus ready dreſſed and what they had brought along with them from Phlius; and then, pouring forth a libation in acknowledgment of ſucceſs, and ſinging their pæan of victory, and placing proper centinels for the nightly guard, had a ſound repoſe. A meſſenger arrived in the night, and told the Corinthians what had been done at Thyamia, who in a very hearty manner ordered the herald to call for all the carriages and beaſts of draught in the city, which they loaded with proviſions and drove away to Phlius. And afterwards, till the fortification was compleatly finiſhed, they continued daily to ſend them in a convoy of proviſions.——All theſe incidents have been related to ſhew how faithful to their confederates the Phliaſians were, with how much bravery they perſiſted in the war, and though reduced to extreme diſtreſs would ſtill perſevere in their alliance.

Euphron *driven out of* Sicyon.

About almoſt the ſame ſpace of time Æneas the Stymphalian, who had been made General in chief of the Arcadians, judging what was doing at Sicyon to be paſt all ſufferance, marched up with his forces into the citadel, whither he conveneth the beſt men of Sicyon reſident in the city, and recalled ſuch as had been driven into exile without a legal proceſs. Euphron, alarmed at this, flies for refuge down to the harbour of Sicyon; and having ſent for Peſimelus from Corinth, delivered up the harbour to him for the uſe of the Lacedæmonians; and thus he went over again into their alliance, averring that "whatever appearances were "againſt him, he had been moſt faithfully attached to the "Lacedæmonians. For when it was publicly voted at Sicyon, "whether or no they ſhould revolt, (he ſaid) he had given his "own vote with the minority. And afterwards had ſet up the "democracy only to execute his revenge upon ſuch as had be-"trayed him. And even now all thoſe, who had betrayed the "Lacedæmonians, are driven into exile by me. If therefore I "had been able to execute the whole of my deſign, I ſhould

"have

" have revolted to you with the whole city in my own diſpoſal: " but, as I was not able to accompliſh this, I have now delivered " up the harbour to you." Theſe words were ſpoken by him in the hearing of many; but it did not appear, that many believed him ſincere. Yet, ſince I have thus returned to the intrigues of Euphron, I will proceed and finiſh all that relateth to him.

Euphron goes to Thebes.

A ſedition happening afterwards between the parties of the *nobility* and the *people* at Sicyon, Euphron, at the head of ſome mercenaries picked up at Athens, returneth again into that city. Here aided by the *people* he became maſter of the whole place except the citadel, which remained in poſſeſſion of the Theban commandant. But being clearly convinced that he could not ſtay long in the place, as the Thebans were maſters of the citadel, he collected together every thing of value he poſſibly could, and went away for Thebes, intending to bribe the Thebans to eject the party of the *Few*, and leave him maſter once more of the city of Sicyon. But the former exiles got notice of his journey and his whole ſcheme, and poſted away after him to Thebes. And when they ſaw him converſing familiarly with the men in power at Thebes, and became apprehenſive that he would ſucceed in the whole of his deſigns, ſome of them determine to run all riſques, and ſtab him in the very citadel whilſt the magiſtrates were ſitting in council. The magiſtrates immediately ordered the aſſaſſins to be brought before the council, and then ſpoke as followeth:

and aſſaſſinated.

" Citizens of Thebes! we accuſe theſe perſons here who have " aſſaſſinated Euphron as guilty of a capital offence. We are " convinced by experience, that men of honour and worth never " commit ſuch outrageous and impious acts; wicked men indeed " commit them, and endeavor at the ſame time to remain un- " diſcovered. But theſe wretches have far exceeded all mankind " in a daring and abominable crime; for erecting themſelves into " judges and executioners too they have murthered Euphron, al-

The magiſtrates of Thebes.

" moſt in the preſence of the magiſtrates of Thebes, and in the
" preſence alſo of you, who are ſolely inveſted with the power
" of life and death. If theſe wretches therefore be ſuffered to
" eſcape the puniſhment of death, what ſtranger for the time
" forwards will dare to appear in this city? or, what will become
" of Thebes, if private perſons may be permitted to murther a
" ſtranger, before he hath notified the reaſons of his coming?
" We therefore accuſe theſe men as impious and execrable wretches,
" and guilty of the higheſt contempt againſt the *State*. And, after
" hearing what they have to ſay, judge ye what puniſhment they
" beſt deſerve, and ſentence them accordingly."

In this manner the magiſtrates accuſed them; and each of the aſſaſſins pleaded in his own behalf, that he was not the perſon who gave the blow, till at length one of them boldly avowed it, and began his defence as followeth!

Speech of him who killed Euphron.

" No man, ye Thebans, can poſſibly entertain a contempt of
" you, who knoweth, that you are ſovereign arbiters of life and
" death within your own community. And you ſhall be clearly
" informed on what I placed my confidence, when within your
" walls I gave Euphron the mortal blow.

" It was, in the firſt place, on my own conviction that what
" I did was right; and, ſecondly, on my inward perſuaſion that
" you would judge righteouſly of the fact. I knew, that in the caſe
" of Archias and Hypates, whom you found guilty of practices
" like thoſe of Euphron, you waited not for the legal deciſion,
" but wreaked your vengeance upon them the firſt opportunity
" that preſented itſelf, convinced that the ſentence of death is
" already paſſed by all mankind upon wretches openly abandoned,
" upon detected traitors, and ambitious tyrants. And Euphron
" in each of theſe characters deſerved his fate. He had ſeized
" the temples of the Gods, and ſtripped them of all their gold
" and ſilver oblations. And certainly no man was ever a more

" noto-

" notorious traitor than Euphron, who being in the cloſeſt friend-
" ſhip with the Lacedæmonians, deſerted them for you; and,
" after the moſt ſolemn pledges of fidelity to you, again betrayed
" you, and delivered up the harbour of Sicyon to your enemies.
" And farther, how inconteſtably doth it appear to all the world
" that Euphron was a tyrant? who not only made freemen of
" ſlaves, but even raiſed them to all the privileges of citi-
" zens. He put to death, he drove into baniſhment, he de-
" prived of their properties, not men who had acted unjuſtly,
" but whom he did not like; and theſe were the worthieſt men
" in Sicyon. And, what is more, returning to that city by the
" aid of Athenians your greateſt enemies, he drew up his troops
" in oppoſition to your own commandant. But when he found
" himſelf unable to diſlodge him from his poſt, he collected
" every thing of value he could, and even ventured hither. Now,
" had he been marching againſt you in an hoſtile manner, you
" would have beſtowed your thanks upon me for taking his life.
" When therefore he had amaſſed all the wealth he could, and
" came hither to corrupt your members, and ſo perſuade you to
" make him once more maſter of Sicyon; and at this very criſis
" I inflicted condign puniſhment upon him; with what juſtice
" can I be put to death by you? Men over-powered by arms are
" ſufferers, it is true; yet are not thereby proved unjuſt: but
" men, who are corrupted to do iniquitous acts, are not only hurt
" but are diſgraced for ever. Yet, ſuppoſing Euphron to have
" been only an enemy to me, but a friend to you, I then ſhall
" frankly confeſs, that I am not to be juſtified for having killed
" him. But who hath been a traitor to you, can that man be a
" greater enemy to me than he was to you? Good Gods! it may
" be ſaid, Euphron came hither on his own free accord. Granted.
" The perſon then, who had killed him out of your juriſdiction,
" would have received your commendations for it. And ſhall

" any

" any one deny that he was juſtly ſlain, becauſe he was gotten
" within your walls to accumulate the miſchiefs he hath done
" you? What proofs can ſuch an one bring, that Grecians are
" bound to obſerve any terms with traitors, with habitual deſerters,
" or with tyrants? And after all this remember, Thebans, that
" you yourſelves have paſſed a decree which is yet in force, that
" exiles upon record may be fetched away from any of the con-
" federate cities. Who therefore can deny the juſtice of putting
" that man to death, who, though exiled, preſumed to return
" home without a previous decree from the confederate cities? I
" affirm therefore, ye Thebans, that if you take my life, you
" are only going to revenge the man, who was the bitterest enemy
" in the world to yourſelves. But, ſhould you declare that I
" have acted with juſtice, you will take revenge in behalf of
" yourſelves and all your confederates."

The Thebans, after hearing this defence, declared that Euphron was juſtly killed. The Sicyonians however of his own faction carried him home as a man of bravery and worth, buried him in the *forum*, and honour him as guardian of their city. This, it ſeemeth, is the practice of the world, that men generally pronounce their own private benefactors to be perſons of honour and worth. The account of Euphron is thus compleated; I return to the place from whence I digreſſed to give it.

Alliance between Athenians *and* Arcadians.

Whilſt the Phliaſians were yet employed in fortifying Thyamia and Chares continued with them, Oropus was ſeized by the exiles. The whole military force of Athens took the field on this occaſion; and Chares being alſo ſent for from Thyamia, the harbour of the Sicyonians is again taken by the inhabitants and the Arcadians. None of their confederates marched out to join the Athenians, who retreated, leaving Oropus in the hands of the Thebans, till the diſpute ſhould be judicially determined. But Lycomedes, perceiving the Athenians were diſpleaſed with their confederates,

ſince,

ſince, though involved in many troubles in their behalf, yet, in time of need not one would ſtir to their aſſiſtance, perſuadeth the *ten thouſand* to treat with them for an offenſive and defenſive alliance. Some of the Athenians were not at all ſatisfied with the propoſal, that they, who were in friendſhip with the Lacedæmonians, ſhould enter into ſuch an alliance with the enemies of the latter. But when, after ſerious conſideration, they found it might be as ſerviceable to the Lacedæmonians, as to themſelves that the Arcadians ſhould ſtand in no need of the Thebans, they at length accepted the alliance of the Arcadians. Lycomedes, who managed the negotiation, in his return from Athens, loſt his life in a moſt wonderful manner. For, very many ſhips being on their departure, he pitched on a particular one from amongſt the number, and having agreed with them to land him at whatever place he named, he choſe to land in the very place where the exiles were at that moment aſſembled; and thus he loſeth his life.

Corinth at leaſt.

The alliance between Arcadians and Athenians was thus effectually ſettled. But Demotion ſaying in the aſſembly of the people at Athens, that "this alliance was in his judgment an honourable "meaſure," he then added, that "it ought to be particularly "recommended to the Generals of the State, to take care that "Corinth be kept firm in its duty to the people of Athens." This was reported to the Corinthians, who ſending without loſs of time detachments of their own people to all places garriſoned by the Athenians, ordered the latter to march out as they had no longer any need of their ſervice. Accordingly they evacuated the garriſons; and when they were all afterwards arrived at Corinth, the Corinthians made public proclamation, that "if "any Athenian thought himſelf aggrieved, he ſhould prefer his "petition and have all equitable redreſs." But at this juncture Chares arrived at Cenchreæ with the fleet. And when he knew what had lately been done, he gave out that "having heard of a

"deſign

" deſign againſt the city, he was come up with a timely aid." The Corinthians commended his alacrity in their ſervice, but however would not permit him to enter the harbour, and ordered him to depart with the fleet; and then, after doing them all kind of juſtice, they ſent away the heavy-armed. In this manner were the Athenians diſmiſſed from Corinth. But in purſuance of the late alliance they were obliged to ſend their cavalry to the aid of the Arcadians, whenever any enemy invaded Arcadia; and yet, they never entered Laconia in an hoſtile manner. In the mean time the Corinthians were reflecting much with themſelves, how difficult it would be to ſecure their own preſervation, as they had already been quite over-powered at land, and the Athenians were now become intractable in regard to them. They determined therefore to take into their pay bodies both of foot and horſe. And keeping theſe ſubmiſſive to their own orders, they at one and the ſame time kept guard at Corinth and gave ſome annoyance to their enemies. They ſent however to Thebes to demand of the Thebans, " whether, in caſe they requeſted it in " form, a peace would be granted them?" And when the Thebans encouraged them to come with their requeſt, giving hopes of its ſucceſs, the Corinthians offered a freſh petition, that " they would " firſt permit them to go and conſult their confederates, that " they might aſſociate ſuch of them as were willing in this peace, " and leave ſuch as preferred war to the liberty of continuing it." The Thebans permitting them too to take this ſtep, the Corinthians repaired to Lacedæmon, and ſpoke as followeth:

Speech of the Corinthians.

" We Corinthians, your old and approved confederates, ad- " dreſs ourſelves to you, ye men of Lacedæmon. We ſolemnly " conjure you, if you know any certain expedient of ſecuring " preſervation for us in caſe we perſevere along with you in this " war, that you would explicitly inform us what it is. But if " you are convinced in yourſelves, that your affairs are irreco-

" verably

" verably diſtreſſed and no other reſource remaineth, we then " conjure you to make a peace in conjunction with us, ſince " united with you rather than with any other people in the " world we would gladly earn our preſervation. But in caſe you " judge it moſt adviſable for yourſelves to continue this war, we " beg at leaſt that you would give us permiſſion to make a peace. " Let us but ſave ourſelves now, and the time again may come " when we may do you ſome ſignal acts of friendſhip. But if " now we muſt be ruined, it is plain we never any more can do " you ſervice."

The Lacedæmonians, after hearing this requeſt, adviſed the Corinthians by all means to make their peace; and gave permiſſion to any other of their confederates, who were averſe from a longer continuance of the war, to give it up. As to themſelves, they ſaid, " they would fight it out, and ſubmit to the will of God; " but would never ſuffer themſelves to be deprived of Meſſene, " which they had received from their progenitors." The Corinthians, hearing this, went away to Thebes to negotiate a peace. The Thebans inſiſted, that " they ſhould ſwear to an alliance " offenſive and defenſive." The Corinthians anſwered, that " ſuch a ſettlement would be no peace but a mere change of the " war," adding that " the Thebans ſhould candidly remember, " that they came thither only to make an amicable peace." This ſtruck the Thebans with high admiration of them, ſince in whatever diſtreſs involved, they would not be parties in a war againſt their old benefactors. They therefore granted a peace to them and to the Phliaſians and to others who now accompanied them at Thebes on the ſole condition that " each party ſhould reſpec- " tively keep their own;" and oaths were ſworn to the obſervance of it.

The Phliaſians, when an accommodation was thus ratified, honeſtly and without heſitation departed from Thyamia. But the

Argives, who had ſworn to obſerve the peace on the very ſame condition with the Phliaſians, when they could not prevail for the ſafe continuance of the Phliaſian exiles at Trieranum, on pretence that the place was their own, ſeized it and kept a garriſon in it; averring the land on which it ſtood to be their own property, though a little while ago they had laid it waſte in an hoſtile manner; and even refuſed to ſubmit to a judicial determination, though the Phliaſians ſummoned them to do it.

An aid from Dionyſius the younger.

Almoſt at the ſame time Dionyſius the elder being lately dead, his ſon ſendeth over twelve ſhips under the command of Timocrates to the aid of the Lacedæmonians. Timocrates on his arrival acteth in conjunction with them at the ſiege and reduction of Sellaſia, and after that ſailed back again to Syracuſe.

Year before Chriſt, 361. *War between the Arcadians and Eleans.*

No long time after this the Eleans ſeize upon Laſion, a town formerly their own, but at preſent comprehended in the Arcadian league. The Arcadians would not calmly brook it, but immediately took the field and marched. Four hundred Eleans at firſt, who were ſoon after joined by three hundred more, made head againſt them. After facing one another a whole day in very low ground belonging to the Eleans, the Arcadians by night aſcend the ſummit of the hill above their enemies, and early next morning ruſhed down upon them. The Eleans now, perceiving an enemy far more numerous than themſelves pouring down upon them from higher ground, were a long time kept in their poſts by meer vexation; nay, they even advanced to meet them, yet were no ſooner charged than they broke and fled. They fled over rough and difficult ground, and loſt many of their men and many of their arms. The Arcadians after ſo much ſucceſs marched againſt all the towns in the upper country, and after taking all of them except Thrauſtus arrive at Olympia. Here they threw up an intrenchment round the temple of Saturn, where they poſted themſelves, and were maſters of the mountain of Olympia. They farther

farther took the city of the Marganians, which was betrayed to them by ſome of the inhabitants. Their enemies having had ſuch a train of ſucceſs, the Eleans began utterly to deſpond. And now the Arcadians march up to Elis, and into it as far as to the *forum*. But then the horſemen and ſome other of the inhabitants fall upon them, drive them out, and made ſome ſlaughter, and erected a trophy. There had been now a diſſenſion of long ſtanding in Elis. The faction of Charopus and Thraſonides and Argeïs were ſtriving to ſet up a democracy. The faction of Staleas and Hippias and Stratolus ſtruggled for the oligarchy. And when the Arcadians with ſo much ſtrength ſeemed to come opportunely thither as in aid of thoſe who are inclined to a democracy, the faction of Charopus became more daring, and having bargained with the Arcadians for ſupport, they ſeize the citadel of Elis. The horſemen and the *three hundred* however loſt no time, but march thither immediately and drive them out, in conſequence of which Argeïs and Charopus with about four hundred Eleans more were driven out into exile. And no long time after, theſe exiles, by the aid of a party of Arcadians, poſſeſs themſelves of Pylus; whither many of the *popular* faction in Elis repaired afterwards to them, as the place was ſpacious and of great ſtrength, and where they were certain of ſupport from the Arcadians. The Arcadians alſo, at the inſtigation of theſe exiles who aſſured them of the quick ſurrender of Elis, march ſoon after into the territory of the Eleans. But on this occaſion the Achæans, who were in friendſhip with the Eleans, had ſecurely garriſoned their city, ſo that the Arcadians, unable to do any thing more than lay waſte the country, again retreated. But no ſooner had they marched out of Elea, and diſcovered that the Pellenians were in Elis, than they made an exceeding long march in the night and ſeized Olurus belonging to the latter. The Pellenians had already returned into the alliance of the Lacedæmonians. And they no ſooner

heard of the ſeizure of Olurus than marching a round-about way, the better to conceal their motion, they entered their own city Pellene. And after this, they continued a war againſt the Arcadians in Olurus and all the people of Arcadia, notwithſtanding their own great inferiority in number; nay, never ſlackened in their endeavors, till they had again recovered Olurus by a ſiege.

Year before Chriſt, 364. The Arcadians once more repeat their expedition againſt Elis. But, as they lay incamped between Cyllene and Elis, the Eleans make a ſudden attack upon them; the Arcadians ſtood it out, and got the victory. And Andromachus the Elean commander, who was the principal adviſer of this laſt attack, laid violent hands upon himſelf; the reſt of the Eleans retired into their city. Soclidas a *Spartan*, who was preſent in this battle, loſt his life in it; for the Lacedæmonians were once more allies to the Eleans. But the Eleans, now diſtreſſed about their own defence, diſpatched embaſſadors, and begged the Lacedæmonians to make war upon the Arcadians; judging, there was no other method to get clear of the Arcadians than to have them warred upon on both ſides. In conſequence of this, Archidamus taketh the field with the domeſtic force of Sparta, and ſeizeth Cromnus. Leaving three of the twelve battalions he had with them to garriſon Cromnus, he again marched back to Sparta. The Arcadians however, whoſe forces were all aſſembled for the expedition againſt Elis, hurried away to recover Cromnus, and inveſted it round with a double work of circumvallation; and having thus ſecured their own camp continued in the ſiege of the place. The State of Lacedæmon, unable to brook this beſieging of their own citizens, order their troops to march; and on this occaſion alſo Archidamus commanded. Entering their country, he laid waſte as much of Arcadia and Skiritis as he poſſibly could, and did every thing that could be done to force them to raiſe the ſiege. Yet the Arcadians perſiſted ſtedfaſtly in it, and made no manner of account of all theſe

theſe devaſtations. Archidamus now took a view of an eminence, acroſs which the Arcadians had carried their outward circumvallation. He thought he could ſecure it, and in caſe he did, that the enemy below it could not continue their ſiege. Whilſt he was marching his troops a round-about way to ſeize this poſt, the targeteers of Archidamus advancing before the reſt had a view of the *cb ſen body* of the enemy without the works, and ruſh ſuddenly upon them; and the horſe at the ſame time endeavored to charge. The enemy ſcorned to retreat, but drew up in regular order, and ſtood quiet. They then ruſhed a ſecond time upon them; and when yet, ſo far from retiring, they actually advanced to meet them; every thing now being in hurry and confuſion, Archidamus himſelf, who had made a turn into the cart-way that leadeth to Cromnus, appeared in ſight, his men marching two by two in the order they had ſet out, and himſelf at their head. When they were thus come near the enemy, thoſe under Archidamus with their flanks expoſed in conſequence of the order of their march, but the Arcadians in regular array for battle and their ſhields cloſed firmly together, the Lacedæmonians were not able to ſtand their ground againſt this body of Arcadians, but on the contrary Archidamus had ſoon received a wound quite through his thigh, and the two *Spartans* who fought before him were actually ſlain. Theſe were Polyanidas and Chilon; the latter of whom had married the ſiſter of Archidamus. Nay, the number of *Spartans* ſlain on this occaſion was not leſs than thirty. Yet when, after falling back along the road, they were gotten into more open ground, the Lacedæmonians then formed again to receive the enemy. The Arcadians ſtood firm together in regular order, inferior it is true in numbers, but much higher in ſpirits, ſince they had fallen upon their enemy whilſt retreating before them and made ſome ſlaughter. The Lacedæmonians were ſadly dejected; they ſaw that Archidamus was wounded; they heard

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the names of thoſe who were ſlain, brave men, and almoſt the moſt illuſtrious of their body. And now, the enemy approaching nearer, one of the elder Spartans cried out aloud —— "Why "fight any longer, my Countrymen? Why not rather demand "a truce?" He was heard with pleaſure by all, and a truce was made. Accordingly, the Lacedæmonians took up their dead and marched away; and the Arcadians, returning to the ſpot from whence they firſt advanced, erected a trophy.

Whilſt the Arcadians were thus employed in the ſiege of Cromnus, the Eleans marching out of their city, firſt againſt Pylus, fall in with the Pylians who were on their return after their repulſe from Thalami. The Elean horſemen, who rode in the van, had no ſooner a ſight of them, than they ſeized the opportunity and immediately fall in amongſt them. Some of them they ſlaughter, whilſt others of them flee for ſafety to an eminence that was near; but when the foot came up, they entirely defeat thoſe upon the eminence: ſome of them they killed, and ſome they took priſoners, to the number of two hundred. So many of the latter as were ſtrangers they ſold for ſlaves; and ſo many as were exiles on record they put to the ſword. And after this, as nobody came to the aid of the Pylians, they reduce them town and all, and recover the Marganians.

But the Lacedæmonians ſome time after, marching by night towards Cromnus, force their way over the circumvallation, in the quarter of the Argives, and called out ſuch of the Lacedæmonians as were beſieged in the place. So many of them as happened to be near at hand and loſt no time compleated their eſcape; but the reſt, being prevented by the Arcadians, who ſoon ran together in numbers to the place of eſcape, were again ſhut up within; and being afterwards taken priſoners were divided amongſt the captors: the Argives had one part of them; the Thebans another; the Arcadians another; and the Meſſenians had

had a fourth. The whole number of Spartans and *neighbors* to Sparta taken prifoners on this occafion was more than an hundred.

Gallant behavior of the Eleans.

The Arcadians, who had now cleared their hands of Cromnus, turned their attention again towards the Eleans, and not only ftrengthened their garrifon at Olympia, but as it was the Olympic year made all needful preparation to celebrate the Olympic Games in conjunction with the Pifans, who aver themfelves to have been the original guardians of the Temple. When therefore the month was come in which the Olympic Games are celebrated; nay, on the very days of the grand Aflembly, the Eleans, who had made open preparations for the purpofe and had fent for the Achæans to join them, came marching along the road to Olympia. The Arcadians had never imagined they would dare to give them any interruption, and jointly with the Pifans were conducting the order of the feftival. They had already finifhed the race of chariots and the foot-race of the *pentathlum*, and the *wrefflers* had juft entered the lifts, not indeed on the *courfe*, fince on this occafion they were to wreftle between the *courfe* and the *altar*; for the Eleans in military array were now come up to the * facred *Grove*. The Arcadians however made no advance towards them, but ftood drawn up by the river Cladæus, which running along the *Altis* difchargeth itfelf into the Alpheus. Their confederates were alfo at hand to the number of about two thoufand heavy-armed Argives and about four hundred Athenian horfe. The Eleans drew up in order on the other fide of the river, and after a folemn facrifice advanced to the charge. And thus a people, who in preceding times had been contemned by the Arcadians and Argives, contemned alfo by the Achæans and Athenians for the want of martial fpirit, marched however that day at the head of their confederates in the moft gallant manner. The Arcadians, for thefe were the firft they charged, they inftantly put to flight; they then ftood the attack of the Argives who ran to aid the Arcadians,

* *The* Altis.

cadians, and gave them a defeat. And after they had purſued the fleers to the ſpot of ground that lieth between the *council-houſe* and the temple of Veſta and the adjacent *theatre*, they ſtill fought on and drove them to the very *altar*. Here after being galled by darts and javelins from the porticos and the council-houſe and the great temple, and fought with again on the level ground, a number of Eleans was ſlain, amongſt whom was Stratolus the commander of the *three hundred*; after which they retreated to their own camp. The Arcadians however and their aſſociates were in ſo much dread of the enſuing day, that they buſied themſelves all that night in demoliſhing the fine pavilions they had erected for the feſtival, and throwing up a rampart for their better defence. And next day when the Eleans perceived that the work was ſtrong, and that numbers had poſted themſelves upon the temples, they marched back to Elis, after ſhewing themſelves ſuch gallant men, as God by particular inſpiration can in one day enable men to be, though all human endeavors could not have made them ſuch even in a long courſe of time.

Year before Chriſt, 363.

The Arcadian commanders were now laying hands on the *ſacred* treaſures and diverting them to the payment of their *choſen bands*, which the Mantineans firſt reſented, and ſent them an order "not thus to embezzle the *ſacred* treaſure." Nay, they even raiſed in their own city what pay was due to thoſe *choſen bands*, and ſent it to the Arcadian commanders. The latter however alledged that "ſuch a behavior was an infraction of the Arcadian "league," and appealed againſt it to the council of *ten thouſand*. But as the Mantineans ſlighted this appeal, the others proceeded to a judgment againſt them, and diſpatched the *choſen bands* to apprehend ſuch perſons as they had condemned by name. Upon this the Mantineans made faſt their gates, and refuſed them admittance into their city. The conſequence was, that even ſome of the other members of the council of *ten thouſand* began alſo to affirm,

affirm, that "it was wrong to embezzle in this manner the "*facred* treafures, and to fix an eternal ſtain on their poſterity "by ſuch ſacrilege againſt the Gods." At length it was voted in the council, that "theſe *ſacred* treaſures ſhould not be embezzled;" and then all ſuch perſons in the *choſen bands* as could not ſubſiſt without immediate pay ſlipped away from the ſervice; and ſuch as had a ſubſiſtance, after heartening up one another, entered themſelves in theſe *choſen bands*, not indeed to be commanded, but to ſecure to themſelves the command over them. Such alſo of the commanders as had dabbled moſt in the *ſacred* treaſure, being aware that their lives were in danger ſhould they be called to a ſtrict account, ſend meſſengers to Thebes, and give notice to the Thebans, that "unleſs they march up an army, the dan-"ger is great that the Arcadians will again go over to the Lace-"daemonians." The Thebans accordingly were getting all things in readineſs to take the field. Such perſons however, as were in their hearts true friends to Peloponneſus, perſuaded the Arcadian State to diſpatch embaſſadors to the Thebans with a notification to them "by no means to march with their forces "into Arcadia, till they were formally invited." Nay, they not only notified this to the Thebans, but alſo came to a reſolution amongſt themſelves, that "there was no need of war." They were now alſo convinced, that they had no manner of pretence to invade the preſidency over the temple of Jove, but by reſtoring it to the Eleans ſhould act with more piety and juſtice, and without doubt in a manner more acceptable to the God.

The Eleans were willing to accommodate affairs, and ſo both parties reſolved upon a peace. A truce immediately enſued. And after the peace was ſworn to not only by all the other parties, but by the Tegeatæ alſo, and even by the Theban officer who was then in Tegea commanding four hundred heavy-armed Boeotians, ſuch of the Arcadians as at that time were reſident in Tegea

A truce and peace ſworn to by all the parties, except the Thebans, and by them at Tegea.

feaſted one another and were full of ſpirits, pouring forth their libations, and ſinging their pæans as rejoicing for a peace. The Thebans however and ſuch of the commanders as were apprehenſive of being called to account for the *ſacred* treaſures, aſſiſted by the Bœotians and their accomplices amongſt the *choſen bands*, ſhut faſt the gates of the wall round Tegea, and ſending parties to their ſeveral lodgings ſeized all the men of conſequence who were not of their ſentiments. As many people were here from every city in Arcadia, all of them highly delighted at the making of peace, the number ſeized in this manner muſt needs be very conſiderable. The public priſon was ſoon filled with them; the town-houſe in like manner was filled as ſoon. After many perſons were thus ſecured, and many had eſcaped by leaping over the wall, others there were who were let out through the gates, ſince no one acted with fury on this occaſion that did not think his own life in danger. But, after all, the Theban officer and his accomplices were ſoon reduced to the greateſt perplexity, when they found they had gotten into their hands but very few of thoſe whom they chiefly deſired to ſecure, and eſpecially of the Mantineans, ſince almoſt all the Mantineans had returned in good time to Mantinea, as it lay at ſo little diſtance from Tegea.

Epaminondas *juſtifies the treachery.*

Upon the return of day, the Mantineans no ſooner knew what had been doing, than they diſpatched their meſſengers round to the cities of Arcadia, with notice to them to take to their arms and ſtand on the defence of their cities. They themſelves did ſo at Mantinea; and, ſending at the ſame time to Tegea, demanded ſuch of their citizens as were detained in that city; inſiſting withal that "no Arcadian whatſoever ſhould be thrown into priſon or "put to death, before he had undergone a legal trial; and, in "caſe any Mantineans were accuſed of a criminal behavior, let "their names be ſent hither, and the State of Mantinea would "pledge their faith to produce ſuch perſons in the public council

" of Arcadia, whenever they were called upon to do it." The Theban officer, hearing all this, was grievouſly perplexed in what manner to act, and in ſhort delivereth up all the men. The day after he had a meeting with as many of the Arcadians as were willing to meet him, and ſaid in his juſtification that " he had " been ſadly deluded." He affirmed " information had been " given him, that the Lacedæmonians were aſſembled in arms " upon the frontier, and that ſome Arcadians had engaged to " betray Tegea to them." They indeed gave him the hearing, and though aſſured that all he ſaid was falſe, they let him depart. Yet they diſpatched embaſſadors after him to Thebes, and preferred ſuch a charge againſt him as might coſt him his life. But they ſay that Epaminondas, who was then General of the State, made this declaration to them, that " the Theban officer did " his duty better when he ſeized theſe perſons than when he ſet " them at liberty. For we Thebans, *ſaid he*, went into a war " purely on your account, whereas you have clapped up a peace " without conſulting us at all; may not any one therefore con- " ſiſtently with juſtice charge all the treachery in this affair upon " you? But reſt aſſured (*he went on*) that we ſhall ſoon march " our forces into Arcadia, and will ſtill continue the war with " the aſſiſtance of ſuch as remain in the ſame ſentiments with " ourſelves."

Recommencement of the war.

No ſooner was this declaration of Epaminondas reported to the *General-council* of Arcadia and to the ſeveral cities, than it ſtruck the reflection into the Mantineans and ſuch other Arcadians as were friends to the true welfare of Peloponneſus, as alſo into the Eleans and Achæans, that " it was plainly the deſign of the " Thebans to reduce Peloponneſus to ſo low a condition, that " they might eaſily enſlave it. For what other view can they " have in deſiring us to continue the war, than to make us har- " raſs and diſtreſs one another, that both parties may be obliged

" to court them for aſſiſtance? For what other reaſon can they " be preparing to march their army amongſt us, when we tell " them plainly we want them not at preſent? Is it not as clear " as the day, that they are preparing to take the field with full " purpoſe to do us miſchief?" They now ſent away to Athens to beg an aid. They ſent to Lacedæmon alſo an embaſſy conſiſting of perſons enrolled in their *choſen-bands*, with earneſt intreaties to the Lacedæmonians, " readily to join their " forces againſt ſuch as are coming with a full deſign to inſlave " Peloponneſus." The point of command was alſo finally adjuſted, that each people ſhould command within their own territory.

Year before Chriſt, 362. Epaminondas *takes the field.*

Whilſt theſe points were in agitation, Epaminondas took the field, at the head of all the Bœotians and Euboeans and numerous bodies of Theſſalians, ſent either by Alexander or ſuch as were enemies to him. The Phocians however marched not with him, pretending " they were obliged by treaty only to give aid in caſe " an enemy invaded Thebes; to act offenſively with them againſt " other States was no condition in the treaty." Epaminondas reckoned, that in Peloponneſus he ſhould aſſuredly be joined by the Argives and Meſſenians and ſuch Arcadians as were in the intereſt of Thebes, for inſtance the Tegeatæ and Megalapolitans and Aſeatæ and Palantians, and ſome other cities which, becauſe they were ſurrounded by the greater States, would be compelled to join them. Epaminondas accordingly advanced towards Peloponneſus with the utmoſt expedition. But when he came up to Nemea he halted there, hoping he might intercept the Athenians in their march, and reckoning that ſuch an incident would have a great effect in raiſing the ſpirits of his own confederates, and would ſtrike deſpondency into his foes; at all events, that leſſening the Athenians in any degree would be ſo much poſitive advantage to the Thebans. But during his halt at Nemea, all the

States

States of Peloponneſus that acted with unanimity on this occaſion aſſembled together at Mantinea. Epaminondas however had no ſooner heard, that the Athenians had given up their deſign of marching by land, and were preparing to paſs over by ſea, that they might go through Lacedaemon to the aid of the Arcadians, than he immediately decamped from Nemea, and advanceth to Tegea.

His ſine conduct.

For my own part, I ſhall not take upon me to ſay, that this expedition proved a happy one for him. But this I can affirm, that he was not deficient in exhibiting every proof that man can give of bravery and conduct. In the firſt place, I highly applaud him for incamping his troops within the walls of Tegea. For there he was poſted in much greater ſecurity than he could have been on open ground, and all his motions were much better concealed from the enemy; ſince within a city he could much eaſier be ſupplied with any article he wanted; and, as his enemies lay in open ground, he had a full view of what they were doing, could ſee when they were right and when they blundered. And though he thought himſelf ſuperior to the enemy, yet he never led out his troops againſt them, ſo long as he judged they had the advantage in ground. But finding at length that not one city came over to him, and that the time of his command was ſlipping, he judged it neceſſary to ſtrike a blow; ſince otherwiſe he foreſaw the loſs of all his former glory. When therefore he was informed that the enemy kept cloſe at Mantinea, and had ſent for Ageſilaus and all the Lacedaemonians; and was even aſſured that Ageſilaus was marched out at their head, and was already advanced as far as Pellene; he ordered his army to take their repaſt, then gave the ſignal for a march, and led them on directly againſt Sparta. And had not a Cretan by an eſpecial providence made away in all haſte to Ageſilaus and told him of this march, he would have taken Sparta like a bird's neſt quite

deſtitute

deſtitute of all defence. But as timely notice of his march had been given to Ageſilaus, he had returned in time to the aid of the city, and the Spartans, though exceeding few in number, had already poſted themſelves on its guard. The whole of their cavalry was abſent in Arcadia, as were all their auxiliaries and three out of their ten battalions of foot. When therefore Epaminondas was come up to Sparta, he made no attempt to enter the city where the enemy could have charged him on level ground, or could annoy him with darts and javelins from the tops of houſes, or where the ground might enable a few to be a match for far ſuperior numbers. But having ſeized an eminence, which he judged would give him great advantage, he from thence marched *down* inſtead of marching *up* into Sparta. The ſequel was of ſo ſtrange a nature, that we may either aſcribe it to the eſpecial will of God, or confeſs that men reduced to a ſtate of deſperation are not to be reſiſted. For no ſooner did Archidamus lead on againſt him, though attended by not one hundred perſons; no ſooner, I ſay, had Archidamus paſſed the river, which in all probability muſt have greatly delayed him, and advanced towards the enemy, than theſe Thebans, who breathed out fire and flame, who had gained ſuch victories over the Lacedæmonians, who were now ſo far ſuperior in numbers, and had all the advantage of higher ground, durſt not even ſtand the charge of thoſe under Archidamus, but wheel themſelves off from before him; and the ſoldiers of Epaminondas who formed the firſt ranks are immediately ſlain. Exulting at ſo much ſucceſs the victors purſued them farther than was prudent, and are ſlaughtered in their turn. It looked as if Heaven had beforehand ſettled the limits in which each party ſhould be victorious. Archidamus however erected a trophy on the ſpot where he had gotten the better, and gave up under truce the bodies of the enemy who had fallen there.

Epa-

Epaminondas now bethought himſelf, that, as the Arcadians would come with all ſpeed to the aid of Sparta, it was not his buſineſs to fight with them and the whole Lacedæmonian ſtrength in conjunction; eſpecially as the enemy had hitherto been ſucceſsful, and the contrary had happened to his own troops. He therefore marched off, and returned again with the utmoſt expedition to Tegea. He here ordered the heavy-armed to halt, but ſent off the horſe to Mantinea; begging them "to perform this ſervice with their utmoſt perſeverance;" and telling them, "it "was likely that all the cattle of the Mantineans were out abroad "in the fields, and all the people too, eſpecially in this ſeaſon "of fetching in their harveſt." And accordingly they began the march.

The Athenian horſemen, who had ſet out from Eleuſis, took their evening repaſte at the Iſthmus. From thence continuing their march through Cleone, they had juſt now reached Mantinea, and were quartering themſelves in houſes within the walls. So ſoon therefore as the enemy was ſeen riding up, the Mantineans beſought theſe Athenian horſe to give them all poſſible aid, "ſince "all their flocks and herds were abroad in the fields, as were all "their labourers and moſt of the youths and old men of the city." The Athenians complied and ſally out immediately, though neither themſelves nor their horſes had yet taſted any food. Who on this occaſion can help admiring the generoſity of theſe men, who, with an enemy in ſight much ſuperior in number to their own, and with the late blow given at Corinth to their cavalry quite freſh in their remembrance, were not however diſheartened, no not even at the thought that they were going to engage with Thebans and Theſſalians, at that time reckoned the beſt horſemen in the world; but diſdaining that their friends ſhould ſuffer through the want of any aſſiſtance that themſelves could give them, they were no ſooner in ſight of the enemy than they took

full

full ſpeed upon them, deſirous to preſerve at all events their hereditary glory? In this manner they engaged; and by engaging preſerved every thing belonging to the Mantineans that was abroad in the fields. But ſeveral gallant men amongſt them periſhed; and they killed as many gallant men on the ſide of the enemy. For not one perſon on either ſide had a weapon ſo ſhort but it was long enough to reach his adverſary. They took up the dead bodies of their friends, and reſtored ſome dead bodies of their enemies by truce.

Epaminondas was now reflecting, that "he muſt needs be "gone in a few days, ſince the time limited for this expedition "was juſt expiring; and, in caſe he now abandoned his allies "whom he came to ſave, they would be beſieged and reduced "by their adverſaries, and he ſhould entirely blemiſh all his "former glory; defeated with his numerous heavy-armed as he "had been at Lacedæmon by a handful of men; defeated alſo "at Mantinea in the engagement of the horſe; and the author, "as he had really proved by this expedition into Peloponneſus, "of a freſh coalition of Lacedæmonians and Arcadians and "Achæans and Eleans and Athenians." He therefore judged it impoſſible for him to quit the country without fighting a battle; concluding, "in caſe he was victorious, he ſhould prevent all "the great evils he foreſaw; or, in caſe he fell in the attempt, "his death would be honourable and glorious, ſince he was en-"deavoring to gain for his own country the ſovereignty of Pe-"loponneſus." It cannot appear in the leaſt ſurpriſing to me, that Epaminondas ſhould reaſon in ſuch a manner. Men greedy of honour are apteſt to encourage ſuch thoughts as theſe. But what excites my ſurprize and admiration too is this; that he had ſo highly ingratiated himſelf with the troops he commanded, that no toil whatever, either by day or by night, could at all fatigue them; no danger whatever could ſtop them; and, though ſtraitened

ened for want of neceſſary proviſions, that they ſhould execute all his orders with prompt alacrity. For at laſt, when he iſſued his final orders for all to get ready ſince he was determined to fight, the horſemen at a word were cleaning up their helmets. The heavy-armed Arcadians, who carried clubs, were alſo inrolled and muſtered as Thebans; and all of them to a man were buſied in ſharpening their ſpears and their ſwords and brightening their ſhields.

The Battle of Mantinea.

But when they were all ready, and he was for leading them towards the enemy, it is worth while to obſerve the particulars of his conduct. In the firſt place, he made all the diſpoſitions, as one would expect Epaminondas ſhould make them; and by his manner of doing it ſhewed plainly to every body that he was preparing in earneſt for a battle. And when his army was compleatly formed to his own liking, he then led on, not indeed directly towards the enemy, but declining towards the mountains on the weſt beyond the city of Tegea. By this he gave his enemies reaſon to imagine, that he had no deſign to fight that day. For when he came near the mountain, after he had formed his main army in a line of battle, he ordered them to ground their arms under the ſhelter of the eminence; ſo that he yielded to his enemies the appearance of a General who was for encamping his army. But, by acting in this manner, he cauſed the bulk of his enemies to relax in the ardor they had conceived for engaging; he cauſed them even to quit the ranks in which they were poſted. Yet, no ſooner had he made ſome bands of heavy-armed in the wings to march up and take poſt in the centre, by which he made the part of the army where he was poſted himſelf, as ſtrong as the beak of a ſhip, than he gave the word for recovering their arms. He now again led on, and his army was in march. As for the enemy, who quite unexpectedly ſaw them thus advancing, they were at once all hurry and precipitation.

Some were running to fall into their ranks, ſome were only forming; the horſemen were bridling their horſes and putting on their breaſt-plates; and they all had the appearance of men, who were rather to ſuffer from than to hurt their foes.

Epaminondas was ſtill advancing with his troops, which reſembled a ſhip of war bearing down to the attack, aſſured that, on whatever part of the enemy's army he made his firſt effectual puſh, he muſt bear them down before him, and throw the whole into utter diſorder. For his previous diſpoſition was ſuch, that he muſt begin the charge with the prime ſtrength of his troops; the weakeſt of them he had poſted in the rear; knowing that even the latter, if defeated, would ſtrike terror into his own people, and give additional ſpirit to the enemy. The enemy on the other ſide had drawn up their horſe like a battalion of heavy-armed, without giving them a proper depth or lining them with foot; whereas Epaminondas had ſo formed his, that their attack muſt needs make the ſtrongeſt impreſſion; and he had lined their ranks with parties of foot; aſſured that, in whatever part they broke through the enemy, their whole body muſt at once be vanquiſhed. For exceeding difficult it is to preſerve a willingneſs in any part of a body to ſtand faſt, when they ſee ſome of that body in actual flight. And to prevent the Athenians from ſtirring out of the left wing to aid ſuch as were near them, he had poſted over-againſt them on the higher ground a party of horſe and heavy-armed; intending to frighten them by this ſhew of the danger they muſt run of being attacked in their rear, if they ſtirred to give aid to others.

In this manner he had made his diſpoſitions for the attack; and he was not diſappointed in the event he expected. For he made his firſt charge with ſo much force, that he compelled the whole body of the enemy to flee before him. But after Epaminondas dropped, there was no one left who could make a proper uſe of the victory.

Epaminondas *killed.*

victory. For though the whole of the enemy was in flight before them, his heavy-armed made no ſlaughter not even of a ſingle foe, nor made any advance in the field of battle beyond the ſpot where they firſt attacked. And though the enemy's horſe were alſo in open flight, his own horſe ſlew neither horſemen nor heavy-armed in their purſuit; but, like men who had been vanquiſhed, ſlipped tremblingly out of the way of their routed enemies. His foot indeed and targeteers, who had engaged along with the horſe, advanced quite up to the left wing of the enemy, as maſters of the field of battle; and there moſt of them were put to the ſword by the Athenians.

Such was this battle; the event of which was quite contrary to what all the world expected it muſt be. For as almoſt all Greece was aſſembled together on this occaſion to fight a deciſive action againſt one another, there was no man but thought that, after ſuch a battle, the conquerors would remain for ever maſters, and the conquered muſt for ever be ſubject to them; whereas God ſo ordered the event, that both parties erected trophies as claiming the victory, and neither ſide could hinder the erection of them. Both parties again, as conquerors, reſtored the dead under truce; both parties too, as conquered, requeſted a truce for the delivery of them. Nay, though both parties gave out that the victory was their own, it was manifeſt that neither of them had gained any more ground, any other city, or any more dominion, than they were maſters of before the battle. On the contrary, a greater confuſion and a wilder hurry aroſe in Greece after this battle than had been known before it.

So far may ſuffice for me. Others perhaps will take care to relate what happened afterwards in Greece.

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